

# A NEW HEBREW WORD (ZLQ “LIGHTNING”) AND OTHER NEW READINGS IN THE HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS OF BEN SIRA (MS B: MS HEB.E.62 AND T-S 16.313)

## *Summary*

Three new readings in the medieval Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira (Ms B: MS heb.e.62 and T-S 16.313) are described in this article. The first, זלק “lightning (flash/bolt)” in Sir 43:13, is otherwise unknown in Hebrew and likely reflects secondary influence on the Ben Sira text from Syriac. The second, צי “desert-dweller” or “ship” in Sir 36:8–9, also seems likely to be secondary to the text; in this case, the word contributes to the eschatological / apocalyptic tone of its poem. The third new reading, סגרת in Sir 36:23, is much harder to explain, but may reflect a new sense for the verb סגר, similar to that of מלא in the *piel*, namely, “fill, satisfy.”

## **Introduction (1)**

**A**LTHOUGH the Hebrew manuscripts of the Wisdom of Ben Sira have been read by modern scholars for more than 120 years, the texts they contain are still not precisely rendered in current editions. The present contribution offers new readings for three passages in these manuscripts (MS heb.e.62 and T-S 16.313) as revealed through inspection of digital photographs. (2) These new readings are the result of current research I am conducting on the Hebrew language

(1) Thanks to the anonymous reviewers who provided helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

(2) Digital photographs are available online at the following places: The Book of Ben Sira ([www.bensira.org](http://www.bensira.org)); The Friedberg Genizah Project (<https://fgp.genizah.org>); Cambridge Digital Library (<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/genizah>); and Genizah Fragments at the Bodleian Library ([genizah.bodleian.ox.ac.uk](http://genizah.bodleian.ox.ac.uk)).

of the manuscripts, but are also connected to a new edition of the Hebrew manuscripts I am working on with Jean-Sébastien Rey and Jan Joosten, as well as a commentary on Ben Sira on which I am collaborating with Samuel Adams. (3)

Among the new readings presented here, one reveals the existence of a hitherto unattested Hebrew word (זִלְק “lightning [flash/bolt]”), a word which finds a cognate only in Syriac, though the very existence of the word in Syriac is a matter of some debate. This new reading in the Ben Sira manuscript at 43:13 strongly suggests the existence of the word in Syriac and is one more link between the Hebrew of Ben Sira and the Syriac language. The reading צִי “desert-dweller” or “ship” in Sir 36:9 contributes to that text’s allusiveness, which in turn suggests the underlying topic of the poem. The last reading, סוּגְרַת in Sir 36:23, complicates our understanding of the marginal alternative in which it occurs, but potentially suggests a new sense for this verb/root. All these readings further refine our understanding of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira and hint at its complicated transmission through the first millennium CE.

### Specific Passages

#### 1. Sir 43:13 (*Ms B [MS heb.e.62/5] XII verso, line 15*)

[ת]נֹצַח זִלְקִים		גבורתו תתוה ברק
ותנצח ° זיקות בִּמְשׁ[פֹּט]		margin 1
תזנה יקום בִּמְן	נערתו תתוה בקר	margin 2

His might marks the lightning,  
it illuminates the fiery arrows in judgme[nt.] (4)

margin 1: [it] illuminates the lightning bolts (5)

margin 2: His rebuke marks the morning,  
it makes the world shine through  
ju[dgment] (6)

(3) My colleagues have not seen these new readings and therefore all mistakes and inaccuracies are my own.

(4) The *beth*, *mem*, and *shin* are significantly damaged, but nonetheless certainly based on the traces that remain. For the translation of the verb, see footnote 7, below.

(5) In Ms B, this marginal alternative sits to the left of 13b and is slightly lighter in color than the preceding letters.

(6) The reading and translation of the second marginal reading reflects the collaboration of Rey, Joosten, and myself. The verb זנה means “reject” in Biblical Hebrew, though in postbiblical texts it (or a homophonous verb) has the sense in the *piel* “polish, make glisten,” and is cognate with Aramaic דנה “shine.”

For comparison, note the text of the Masada scroll: גערותו ת[ ה ברד ותנצה זיקות משפט “His rebuke m[ark]s the hail and illuminates the fiery arrows of judgment.” (7) The Greek reads: προστάγματι αὐτοῦ κατέσπευσεν χιόνα καὶ ταχύνει ἀστράπας κρίματος αὐτοῦ “with his command, he urges on the hail and hastens the lightning of his judgment.” (8)

The new reading here is the word זלקים found in the margin of Ms B. Previous editions have all read the word as another noun, זיקים, a masculine byform of the word in the text, זיקות. (9) For comparison, note the Biblical Hebrew זקם in Prov 26:18 and זיקות in Isa 50:11 both translated “missile, spark” (BDB), “fire-arrows” and “flaming arrow,” respectively (*HALOT*), “flaming arrow, firebrand, lightning flash, perh. meteor” (*DCH*). In addition, postbiblical Hebrew knows the words זיק (pl. זיקים) “sparks . . . meteors, shooting stars [or, comet] . . . a blast of wind” (Jastrow) and the feminine form זיקה with the same senses (found more rarely, e.g., in CD V, 13 and *piyyut* literature). Aramaic (including Qumran Aramaic) exhibits a cognate זיק “flash of fire, strong wind, storm, a type of demon” (*Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon* [=CAL]),

(7) The verb נצה is also translated “illuminate” in Sir 32:10 (Ms B). Additionally, in Aramaic the word can denote the idea of “making victorious,” which also seems possible here. Menahem Kister (“Some Notes on Biblical Expressions and Allusions and the Lexicography of Ben Sira,” in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages*, ed. T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde; STDJ 33 [Leiden: Brill, 1999], 160–87, esp. 161) notes that נצה may also have the sense “to light.”

(8) For the Greek, see J. Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach*, Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 12:2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965). The Syriac is not attested. The Syrohexapla and Latin support the Greek. The Greek of Sirach often seems to reflect the sense of נהק “urge on” where the Heb. mss have נצה (see Sir 32:10; 43:5).

(9) See A. E. Cowley and A. Neubauer, *The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus, XXXIX.15 to XLIX.11, together with the Early Versions and an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897), 16; S. Schechter and C. Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Portions of the Book of Ecclesiasticus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), LXII; Israel Lévi, *L'Ecclésiastique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Leroux, 1898–1901), 1:70; Norbert Peters, *Der jüngst wiederaufgefundene hebräische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus* (Freiburg: Herdersche, 1902), 214; Rudolf Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach, hebräisch und deutsch* (Berlin: Reimer, 1906), 46 (Heb); idem, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach, erklärt* (Berlin: Reimer, 1906), 405; M. Z. Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira ha-Shalem*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1958), 297; Z. Ben-Hayyim, *The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance and an Analysis of the Vocabulary*, *The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1973), 51; Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts*, 2nd ed., VTSup 68 (Atlanta: SBL, 2006 [1st ed. 1997]), 75; Martin G. Abegg and Casey Towes, “Ben Sira,” in *Accordance 9.5* (Altamonte Springs, Fla.: Oak Tree Software, 2007, 2009).

“shooting star or comet, blast, wind, draught [spirit]” (Jastrow); “storm, tempest, comet, meteor” (*LS*<sup>3</sup>). (10) The *CAL* notes that the Aramaic word also has a metaphorical sense “radiance.” In addition, Syriac exhibits a feminine noun, *zyqh* “lightning bolt” (*CAL*) (or, “shooting star” in Payne Smith) that appears in the Peshitta to Ezek 1:14 and elsewhere. (11) Akkadian cognates to these words include *zīqu* (A) “breath, breeze, draft, blast (of air),” *zīqu* (B) “torch,” and *zīqtu* “torch.” (12)

The reading of the *lamedh* has been missed since its ascender is slightly abraded and the entire letter is written in a cramped manner. Nevertheless, the reading is certain and the outline of the letter is clearly visible in online digital photographs (see the drawing in the Appendix). This type of cramped *lamedh* is found throughout the Ms B marginal alternatives (e.g., the first *lamedh* of גלול at Sir 30:18 in Ms Bm [T-S 16.312] III recto, line 11 and the first two *lamedhs* of וְלִדְ לְשֹׂאֵל at Sir 30:17 in idem; the *lamedhs* of מַחֲלָקוֹת and שְׁלוֹם at Sir 41:21 in Ms Bm [MS heb.e.62/3] XI recto, near line 16). The cramped writing of the *lamedh* suggests that וְלִקִּים and the word preceding it were written so that they could fit between the end of the colon of the main text (to the right) and the other marginal alternative (labeled above margin 2), which runs perpendicular to the text, close to the seam, on the left. This, in turn, implies that the phrase וְלִקִּים [ת]נָצַח was added after the perpendicular marginal alternative (i.e., margin 2).

The nominal form וְלִקִּים has been misread by previous scholars also because Hebrew has no word corresponding to וְלִק. The Maagarim database lists no such word, noun or verb. (13) The *CAL* lists occurrences of the cognate noun, *zīq*, only in Syriac, where it is attested at least three times in clear contexts that imply the sense “lightning flash” or “lightning bolt.” (14) The corresponding verb is listed in *CAL* and *LS*<sup>3</sup>

(10) *Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon*: <http://cal.huc.edu/>, accessed 13 August, 2018; Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009).

(11) See R. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1879), s.v.; Carl Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1928), s.v.

(12) *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* [= *CAD*], vol. 21: Z, eds. Ignace C. Gelb, et al. (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1961), s.v.

(13) Maagarim: The Academy of the Hebrew Language Historical Dictionary Project. [maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il](http://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il), accessed 13 August, 2018.

(14) See <http://cal.huc.edu/>, accessed 13 August, 2018. The website lists three Syriac passages: one from the Julian Romance (at 49:4) and two from Sergius of Reshaina's translation of Pseudo-Aristotle's *De Mundo* (= *On the Cosmos*): 144:13, 18. In reference to the latter text, the Syriac *zīq* corresponds to Greek κεραυνός “thunderbolt” (see Adam Carter McCollum, *A Greek and Syriac Index to Sergius of Reshaina's Version of the De Mundo*, Gorgias Handbooks 12 [Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2009],

as occurring only in the A-stem (though neither resource cites a specific passage where it occurs), glossed as “to make to shine” (CAL). Payne-Smith, on the other hand, cites both an A-stem (for which it cites a passage from the works of Ebed Jesu Sobensis and offers the glosses “illustravit, illuminavit”) and an At-stem (for which it cites a passage from the works of Bar-Hebraeus and offers the glosses “illustratus, illuminatus est”). (15)

The Syriac noun / verb are byforms of the more common Syriac noun / verb *zlg*. The noun is variously glossed as “splendor, ray, shooting star” (CAL) and as “splendor, shine” (LS<sup>3</sup>) and appears in fifteen passages cataloged by CAL. The verb *zlg* is listed as appearing in just the A- and At-stems in Syriac, glossed as “to shine, to make to shine” and “to be illuminated” (CAL), with over twenty occurrences in Syriac listed in the CAL database (but not in any other dialect). Although at first it might appear far-fetched, this root may ultimately be related to the Sumerian verb *zalg* “(to be) pure . . . (to be) bright, to shine.” (16) This connection is all the more interesting given the apparent Akkadian loanword from Sumerian *zalaqtu* “brightness” (CAD) or “bright-eyed” (CDA) found in a lexical list from Boghazköy. (17)

Sokoloff notes in LS<sup>3</sup> that the entry on the verb *zlg* should be deleted. As stated above, no passages are cited and none are found in the CAL database. In his corrections to the 2012 edition of LS<sup>3</sup>, Sokoloff additionally notes that the entry on the noun *zlg* should also be deleted. (18) Connected with the latter, Sokoloff notes in his edition of the Julian Romance (at 49:4) that the noun *zlg* should be corrected to *zlg*. (19)

222; Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, s.v.; and J. P. Margoliouth, *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1927], s.v.; Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 922). Although lightning and thunderbolts might have been construed as separate things in antiquity, a thunderbolt was thought to consist of fire (see LSJ, s.v.).

(15) Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, s.v. The supplement lists another instance of the A-stem of the verb in a work by Ephrem (Margoliouth, *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus*, s.v.).

(16) This is the definition of the Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary, psd.museum.upenn.edu, s.v., accessed November 19, 2018.

(17) The CAD adds to the entry on *zalaqtu*: “Artificial word probably made up by the Hittite scribe . . .” Thanks to Jonathan Ben-Dov for this reference. There also exists in Akkadian *zalaqu* “(a stone)” that is attested more broadly.

(18) Sokoloff, “Corrections and Additions for M. Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, Winona Lake and Piscataway, 2009,” 12 (<https://biu.academia.edu/Sokoloff>, accessed August 31, 2018). This comment is made in relation to the second printing of the lexicon in 2012.

(19) Lines 4–5 read: *rm' gyr bzlgq wbnryh* (read *wbnwrh*) *dgwzlt' w bzlgq dbhwn mthpk' 'mwptw dly*’ and are translated: “It [fire] is sublime in its flaming and in its fiery brilliance. The darkness of night is overturned by its splendor in them” (Michael Sokoloff, *The Julian Romance: A New English Translation*, rev. ed., Texts from Christian

However, the *CAL* notes in its entry on the noun *zlg*, that this entry should be preserved. (20)

The existence of the word in Sir 43:13 not only implies that זלק was a word comprehensible to Hebrew readers, but strongly suggests its existence as a word distinct from *zlg* in Syriac too. Since in Syriac and in Sir 43:13 the context strongly favors the sense “lightning (flash / bolt)” this would seem to suggest that the Syriac noun *zlg* had a more specific sense than the byform *zlg*. Nevertheless, we should be cautious about speculating over the meaning of a word attested a total of four times in two separate languages. The more specific sense of זלק / *zlg* may just be due to accident and had we more textual evidence it might have the same range of meanings as *zlg*. Note, for comparison, that the related noun *zlyq*, which occurs not only in Syriac but also in the Targum to Prov 16:27, has the broader range of senses like *zlg*: “splendor, ray, shining” (*CAL*) and “spark” (Jastrow). (21)

It is worth mentioning that Hebrew does not know a noun זלק meaning “splendor, ray, shooting star” or a related verb. Hebrew attests only the verb זלג “to drip, flow” (Jastrow, with fifty-three occurrences up to ca. 1100 CE, according to Maagarim) and a related noun זלג “dripping” (with two occurrences listed in Maagarim from the eleventh century CE). (22) All of this, I think, would suggest that the

Late Antiquity 49 (Piscataway, NJ: Gogrias, 2017), 104–105. Sokoloff’s correction of *zlg* to *zlg* is prompted, in part, by the appearance of *zlg* at the end of the same line of text (i.e., line 4). Nevertheless, the use of phonetically close pairs of words within a single verse or passage is found frequently. E.g., in the Hebrew Bible, one finds the pair of byforms צחק and שחק “to laugh” in Judg 16:25; and ניק and גיק (or גיק), both meaning “to suck” in Exod 2:9. See Eric D. Raymond, *Intermediate Biblical Hebrew Grammar: A Student’s Guide to Phonology and Morphology*, RBS 89 (Atlanta: SBL, 2018), 43–48.

(20) See <http://cal.huc.edu/> (sub *zlg*), accessed August 31, 2018. The *CAL* note under *zlg* reads: “Phonetic variant of *zlg*. In his corrections to the second printing of *SL*, p. 3b, Sokoloff deletes this word. This is incorrect and his emendation of the text from *Jul* is thus both unnecessary and unwise.”

(21) Although the occurrence of *zlyq* in the Targum to Proverbs might imply a broader attestation of the root in Aramaic dialects other than Syriac, note that the consensus over the Targum to Proverbs is that it was likely “composed on the basis of the Peshitta” translation, as reflected in the appearance of specifically Syriac (or Syriac-like) particles (e.g., *gyr* and *dyn*) in the targum (see John F. Healey, “Targum Proverbs and the Peshitta: Reflections on the Linguistic Environment,” in *Studies on the Text and Versions of the Hebrew Bible in Honour of Robert Gordon*, ed. Geoffrey Khan and Diana Lipton, VTSup 149 [Leiden: Brill, 2011], 325–35 [esp. 327–29]).

(22) <http://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il/>, accessed 4 Sept., 2018. The verb in Hebrew often takes “eyes” as grammatical subject. In addition, Hebrew attests the noun מַזְלָג “fork” (1 Sam 2:13) which appears in a feminine form in the plural (e.g., Num 4:14 and passim), if this is not, in fact, another feminine noun, מַזְלָגָה “fork.” *HALOT* derives the word(s) from a root זלג, cognate with Arabic *ḍaliqa* “to be pointed,” though BDB

word זלק entered Hebrew (or perhaps just the Hebrew text of Ben Sira) via Syriac or a closely related Aramaic dialect. The existence of *zlq* as a byform of *zlg* in Syriac is not terribly surprising since numerous words in Aramaic and Hebrew evidence this kind of alternation (e.g., in Syriac, the verb *nql* in the tG- and tD-stems is glossed “to be thrown down” and “to be removed” respectively [*LS*<sup>3</sup>], mirroring the sense of *nql* in the tG-stem “to be removed, to be cast away” [*LS*<sup>3</sup>]). (23)

The relationship between זלק “lightning” and זק “fiery arrow” is unclear to me. It is conceivable that the Hebrew plural זקים reflects an assimilation of an earlier *lamedh*, similar in this way to the assimilation found in the root סלק “to go up” in Hebrew (e.g., אָסַק “I will go up” Ps 139:8) and Aramaic. However, this would make the Aramaic cognates to זלק and זק harder to explain, since these do not show any signs of assimilation (e.g., Syriac *zallīq* “splendor, ray, shining” and *zīq* “flash of fire, strong wind”).

Furthermore, it is also important to note that there is also a root דלק “to burn” that appears in Biblical Hebrew and in later dialects. It also occurs in Aramaic. Although this might suggest an etymological development in which an earlier *\*dlq* developed into two roots, זלק and דלק, the distribution of the roots in Hebrew and Aramaic is really the opposite to the one that we would have expected. While such idiosyncrasies may occur with other roots (e.g., Heb זלל “to be foolish, rash” vs. דלל “to be insignificant”), this is certainly not the expected distribution.

The word זלק seems unlikely to be original to the Ben Sira text; rather, given the fact that the only other evidence for a cognate is so late, it probably reflects a later medieval Hebrew insertion into the Ben Sira text, transmitted from another manuscript into Ms B by a secondary scribe. Ms B, in which we find זלק, contains numerous words and whole verses in the margins to the main text. Although these marginal words/phrases are sometimes called “corrections,” they rather seem to be alternative readings derived from other manuscripts and inserted into the margins of Ms B as a way of collecting and preserving these different versions of the text, even when these readings may not make sense. In the case of זלק, however, the sense that it implies, “lightning (bolt / flash),” seems more precise (and perhaps less poetic) than the word that

connects it (or them) with the Arabic *zalaja* “to glide, slip.” It seems unlikely, of course, that Syriac *zlg* would be related to Arabic *daliqa*.

(23) Similarly, Syriac *sgr* “shut” is linked to both *skr* “shut” and *zgr* “retain.” In relation to the root *zlq*, it might be noted that both Aramaic and Hebrew attest a more common root, *dlq* / דלק “burn.” It seems conceivable that the existence of *zlg* in Syriac, combined with the existence of a Syriac root *dlq* “burn, shine,” contributed in some way to the rare byform *zlq* with the specific sense “lightning.”



was likely the earlier (and original) word: זיקה. This pattern, where the chronologically later word attests a clearer meaning than what was likely the earlier / original word, may also be reflected in the recently discovered word סינה “course linen” in Sir 40:4 (which possibly supplanted an earlier, more generic פשתים “linen”). (24)

The close correspondence of this rare word זלק and its Syriac cognate is one more datum hinting at a link between the Hebrew of the Ben Sira manuscripts and the Syriac language. Other words from the medieval manuscripts that seem to reflect influence from Syriac (but not other Aramaic dialects) include the following: (25)

The word סוד in the *hithpa'el* meaning “to converse” (cf. Syriac *swd* in the *hithpa'al*) occurs in Hebrew only in Ben Sira manuscripts (according to Maagarim: Sir 8:17 [Ms A]; 9:3 [Ms A]; 9:14 [Ms A]; 42:12 [Ms B and Bm]; Ben Sira Paraphrase 4, 5 [T-S NS 93, lines 79–80]). (26)

The word תחליף “successor, substitute” appears in Hebrew only in Ben Sira Ms B (Sir 44:17; 48:8; and perhaps also 46:12), and corresponds most closely to Syriac *thlwp* “exchange, compensation, substitute, Caliph” (*CAL*), “recompense, compensation, substitute, caliph” (*LS*<sup>3</sup>). (27)

The verb נצה in Sir 32:10 (Ms B: לפני ברד ינצה ברק “before hail, lightning flashes”) clearly expresses the specific sense “shine” or “be bright” in the context of celestial phenomena, similar to the usage of the Syriac cognate. Note also Sir 43:13 above. Such nuances are not found as obviously in other Hebrew texts, nor in other Aramaic dialects. (28)

(24) See Eric D. Reymond, Jean-Sébastien Rey, and Jan Joosten, “A New Hebrew Word in Ben Sira 40:4 (Ms B IX verso, line 12 = Or. 1102): *sygh*,” *RB* 124 (2017): 103–110.

(25) Some of the following examples are found in the glossary of Cowley and Neubauer, *Original Hebrew*, xxxi–xxxv. Others were found from consulting the appendix to Haim Dihi’s dissertation, “The Morphological and Lexical Innovations in the Book of Ben Sira” (PhD diss., Beersheba: Ben Gurion University of the Negev, 2004), 774–80, (Hebrew).

(26) Maagarim, [maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il](http://maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il), accessed 6 September, 2018. See Dihi, “Morphological and Lexical Innovations,” 463–67.

(27) Other words from this root have a similar meaning in Syriac and other dialects, but the Syriac word *thlwp* seems the closest to the Hebrew word in form and sense. See Wido van Peursen, “The Word תחליף in Syriac,” in *Conservatism and Innovation in the Hebrew Language of the Hellenistic Period*, STDJ 73; ed. Jan Joosten and Jean-Sébastien Rey (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 133–48; and Dihi, “Morphological and Lexical Innovations,” 710–11.

(28) See Kister, “Some Notes,” 161, where he suggests a similar nuance for the root in Hab 1:4. Note also the one instance of the passive participle *nsyh* on an



- The word פקע has the specific sense “thunder clap” in Sir 46:17 (Ms B: בפקע אדיר נשמע קולו “in the mighty thunder clap his [i.e., God’s] voice is heard”). (29) This nuance is, to my knowledge, not found elsewhere in Hebrew, but is one of the specific senses of the Syriac cognate (a sense that seems peculiar to Syriac). (30)
- The *hithpael* of חננ appears in Hebrew only in Sir 37:29 (Ms Bm, D); here it seems to have the sense “desire” [Bm]: ואל תתחננ אל מטעמים [D] “do not desire savory treats”). (31) Although the verb appears in other Aramaic dialects, only in Syriac does it occur in the sense “desire” and in the tD-stem. (32)
- The repetition גע גע in Sir 13:22 (Ms A) is also unique in Hebrew, but seems likely to represent an interjection of disgust (דל נמוט גע גע ושא “if the poor stumbles, they [i.e., the sycophants] utter [read ישא\*] ‘tsk! tsk!’”). (33) Although Hebrew knows a word גענרע “lowing, roaring,” this is not directly related to the phrase in Sir 13:22. Moreover, it is not insignificant that gw’ (“an interjection of disgust and contempt” [LS<sup>3</sup>]) in the Syriac translation of Sir 13:22 corresponds to גע גע. (34)
- The phrase מי יוכל כחו “who is able to overcome me (read כחי)?” (Sir 5:3 Ms A) is unique in ancient Hebrew, where we would

incantation bowl, in Jewish Babylonian Aramaic, listed in Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2002), s.v. As far as I know, the verb does not have the sense “shine” in Old or Imperial Aramaic, Biblical Aramaic, Qumran Aramaic, Targumic Aramaic (Onqelos, Jonathan, Neofiti, Pseudo-Jonathan), Galilean Aramaic, or Christian Palestinian Aramaic. See Dihi, “Morphological and Lexical Innovations,” 442–46. The one example read by Dihi (445) of the word in the Dead Sea Scrolls (נציה “resplendent”) is read as נציה “pleasant” by Daniel A. Machiela, *The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon: A New Text and Translation with Introduction and Special Treatment of Columns 13–17*, STDJ 79 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 74.

(29) Although the initial colon of the verse is lost in Hebrew, the ancient translations of it make certain that the context is that of thunder. The Greek can be translated: “and the Lord thundered from heaven;” the Syriac is the same with the small shift to “in heaven.” See Dihi, “Morphological and Lexical Innovations,” 552–54.

(30) Maagarim (maagarim.hebrew-academy.org.il, accessed 6 September, 2018) only lists four other occurrences none of which appear in the clear context of thunder or lightning.

(31) It occurs once in the *qal* in the 10th century in the sense “dance” and once in the *piel* in a *piyyut* of the 11th century also in the sense “dance” (see Maagarim, accessed 10 Sept. 2018). See Dihi, “Morphological and Lexical Innovations,” 270–72.

(32) See the entry in *CAL* (<http://cal.huc.edu/>) and in *LS*<sup>3</sup>.

(33) Note that the verb נשא expresses vocal expression without a complimentary word “voice” in Isa 3:7; 42:2, 11. See Eric D. Reymond, “The Wisdom of Words in the Wisdom of Ben Sira,” *Bib* 95 (2014): 224–46 (spec. 229–30). See also Dihi, “Morphological and Lexical Innovations,” 141–44.

(34) Other citations are found in Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, s.v.

expect יכל ל- (35) The phrase in Sir 5:3, instead, seems to reflect the more common Syriac expression *mš' hyl*, found in the Syriac translation to this passage but also frequently elsewhere (e.g., Peshitta to Ps 139:6; Esth 6:13; Phil 4:13). (36)

The verb צרה in the sense “shine” or “burst forth” may occur in the phrase שמש מביע בצרתו חמה “the sun emits heat in its shining (or, bursting forth)” (Sir 43:2 [Ms B]). Although בצרתו might also be construed as “its drought,” the interpretation of the letters as an infinitive construct is encouraged by the version of the verse in the Masada scroll and the marginal alternative to this colon in Ms B, which agree: מופיע בצאתו “shines in its coming forth.” (37) The Syriac verb *sry* “cleave” is used intransitively in the G-stem to indicate bursting or breaking through something (e.g., Peshitta to 1 Chr 11:18) and has the sense “shine” when used in relation to a star (in the *Chronology* of Elias of Nisibis). (38)

These parallels with Syriac usage need not all presuppose a direct link between the Hebrew of Ben Sira and Syriac itself. For example, it could be just an accident that the sense of the verb נצה “shine, flash” in relation to celestial objects is attested almost exclusively in Syriac among Aramaic dialects. The word could have been used throughout different Aramaic dialects and been preserved only in Syriac in this

(35) See Eric D. Reymond, “Waw and Yodh in the Hebrew Manuscripts A and B of Ben Sira,” in *The Pursuit of Wisdom and Human Flourishing: A Virginia Conference on the Book of Sirach and Its Contexts*, ed. Greg Schmidt Goering, Samuel Adams, and Matthew Goff; JSJSup (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

(36) See Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira*, 31.

(37) This interpretation benefited from discussion with Rey and Joosten. Note the defectively spelled infinitives construct from III-waw/yodh roots in Ms B: Sir 39:31 (בצותו “in his commanding”); 46:16 (בעלתו “when he offered”); and 49:19 (לבנת “to build”).

(38) *LS*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. For the occurrence in Elias of Nisibis’s *Chronology*, see E. W. Brooks, *Eliae Metropolitae Nisibeni: Opus Chronologicum*, CSCO 62–63 / CSCOSS 21–24 (Leuven: CSCO, 1954–62), 1.2:220 reprint of the same title (Paris: E Typographeo Reipublicae, 1909–10). The verb *sry* also has the sense “climb” when used with the complement *lʿwr* “the mountain” (see *LS*<sup>3</sup>, s.v.). Other possible examples of Syriacisms in Ben Sira include יגדה “it (the beauty of snow’s whiteness) will swell (the eyes)” in Sir 43:18 (Ms B) as a mistake for יגהר “it will blind (the eyes),” a sense found for גהר only in Syriac (see Cowley and Neubauer, *The Original Hebrew*, xxxi). See the discussion of the retroversion into Hebrew from Syriac of Sir 31:16 (Ms B): Jean-Sébastien Rey, “Reflections on the Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira: Between Eclecticism and Pragmatism,” *Textus* 27 (2018): 187–204 (spec. 198–201) and Menahem Kister, “Additions to the Article ‘Notes on the Book of Ben Sira,’” *Leshonenu* 53 (1988–89): 36–53 (spec. 51–52). Kister also cites the possibility that Sir 31:13 is partially retroverted from Syriac (*ibid.*, 51 n. 59). Some words, of course, occur predominantly in Syriac, but also in other Aramaic dialects.

sense. Or, the sense could have developed within Hebrew, entirely independent of Aramaic. Nor should it be assumed that parallels between the Hebrew of Ben Sira and Syriac occur only in the medieval manuscripts. Notice, first, that נצה seems to appear in the sense “shine, flash” in Sir 41:13 of Mas. In addition, the word תמחי in Sir 42:4 (Mas) and תמהות (Ms B) are both assumed to be errors for something like תמחית\* or תמחות\* “polishing of” or “calibrating of,” the closest parallel to which is in Syriac: *tmhy* “apply a measure to” (*LS*<sup>3</sup>).

It is also important to note that these links with the Syriac language are not always paralleled in the Syriac translation of Ben Sira. For example, the Syriac of 42:12 does not contain the verb *swd*, but instead the phrase *l' tšpr šw'yt* “she should not make pleasing stories,” which corresponds to the Hebrew אל תסתיד (margin: תסתיד) “let her not talk.” One major point of contention among Ben Sira scholars concerns whether any of the Hebrew can be attributed to a retroversion from Syriac. (39) These examples cannot be due to a retroversion from the Syriac. Of the words listed above, only פקע (Sir 46:17) מי יוכל כחו (Sir 5:3), and גע גע (Sir 13:22) do have correspondences in the Syriac translation. While these might be due to retroversion, they could also be due to other causes. (40) Ultimately, it is difficult to be certain that all these words and phrases derive from influence of the Syriac language and/or the Syriac translation of Ben Sira, but it seems likely that at least some of them do.

In addition to these linguistic affinities and setting aside the issue of retroversion, there also seems to be some connection between the Hebrew text, as evidenced in the medieval manuscripts, and the Syriac translation. In many cases the Hebrew text corresponds to the Syriac translation, but not to the Greek or Latin. In at least one case, a long passage that seems clearly secondary to the original text appears in the Syriac translation and in fragments in reverse-traces in Ms A, implying that Ms A had the full twelve verses. I refer here to the twelve bicola

(39) See W. Th. van Peursen, “The Alleged Retroversions from Syriac in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira Revisited: Linguistic Perspectives,” *KUSATU* 2 (2000): 47–95 and literature cited there.

(40) Although many of the arguments for the retroversion of portions of Ben Sira from Syriac to Hebrew have been dismantled, some texts in the Hebrew are still assumed to be retroverted from the Syriac (e.g., the form of the acrostic poem in Sir 51:13–30 found in Ms B). See van Peursen, “Alleged Retroversions,” 49–50 and literature cited there. Note also the phrase in Sir 31:16 (Ms Bm): ואכל כאיש דבר ששם לפניך “and eat like a man what is set (ששם) before you,” where the use of דבר followed by the relative ש seems like a calque on the Syriac expression *mdm d-*, found in its translation: *l's 'yk gbr' mdm dsym qdmyk* “eat as a man whatever is set before you.” This was brought to my attention by Jean-Sébastien Rey.

that follow Sir 1:20 in the Syriac translation. (41) Cumulatively, the linguistic and textual links suggest a complicated relationship between the Ben Sira text and both the Syriac language and the Syriac translation of Ben Sira, something that is foregrounded in the new reading זלקים.

2. Sir 36:8–9 (42) (*Ms B [T-S 16.313] VI verso, line 6*)

העיר אף ושפוך חמה      הכניע צי והדוף אויב:      דין  
Arouse anger, pour forth rage,  
subdue the desert-dweller (or ship) and thrust off the enemy!

margin: (?) (43)

The new reading here is צי, which is read as צר “adversary” by all previous scholars, though Peters noted that the reading seemed doubtful in the manuscript, as has Elisha Qimron more recently. (44) The *sadeh* is clear, but a hole in the paper has obscured all but the bottom tip of the *yodh*, which appears just above the baseline of the *sadeh* (see the illustration in the Appendix). The paper to the left of the hole is blank; no trace of ink can be found in this space.

The mark adjacent to the *sadeh* can be explained only as the remnant of a *yodh*. If the letter were a *resh*, then the vertical mark would have descended slightly further and we would expect to see the *resh*’s top horizontal bar (or, at least, some remnant of it) to the left of the hole. One can compare the relatively large size of the *yodh* presumed by the trace in צי with the fully preserved *yodhs* in the preceding words העיר and הכניע; in these cases, the *yodh* stretches to just above the baseline of the word that precedes. By contrast, the vertical stroke of a *resh* would descend slightly further so that its tip would end just above the bottom of the preceding letter’s baseline stroke. (45)

(41) See Eric D. Reymond, “New Hebrew Text of Ben Sira Chapter 1 in Ms A (T-S 12.863),” *RevQ* 27/105 (2015): 83–98 and G. Karner, “Ben Sira Ms A Fol. I Recto and Fol. VI Verso (T-S 12.863), Revisited,” *RevQ* 27/106 (2015): 177–203.

(42) For the verse labeling of this bicolon, see Friedrich V. Reiterer, *Zählsynopse zum Ben Sira*, FoSub 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), 194. This verse corresponds with 36:6 according to the typical labeling of the Greek version.

(43) The reading is difficult. Most commentators read תנודך “you will drive away,” though Elisha Qimron (“New Readings in Ben Sira,” *Tarbits* 58 [1988–89]: 117) has suggested תרדך “you will pursue.”

(44) Schechter and Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 16; Lévi, *L’Ecclésiastique*, 2:168; Peters, *Ecclesiasticus*, 139; Smend, *Sirach, hebräisch und deutsch*, 30 (Heb); Segal, *Sefer Ben Sira ha-Shalem*, 225; Ben-Hayyim, *Ben Sira*, 28; Abegg and Towses (“Ben Sira”) read [ר]צ. Beentjes (*Ben Sira*, 62) reads “[..].” Qimron, “New Readings in Ben Sira,” 117.

(45) Cf. the word צר in Sir 46:18 (*Ms B [MS Heb.e.62] XVI recto, line 18*) and 50:4 (*Ms B [T-S 16.314] XIX verso, line 11*).

The letters **צ** in the present context seem to reflect the sense of the same letters, **צ**, that appear in parallel with **אֵיב** “enemy” in Ps 72:9 (both nouns in the plural: **צַיִּים** and **אֵיבָיו**). The word in Ps 72:9 is usually construed as “desert-dweller,” though most other occurrences of the noun refer to wild animals (often in association with monsters or demons: in Isa 13:21; 23:13; 34:14 and Jer 50:39), not humans. (46) Moreover, it might be argued that **צַיִּים** in Ps 72:9 could be a metaphorical useage of the homonymous word **צֵי** “ship” (perhaps in the sense “sailors”) since reference is made to the sea and coastlands in the surrounding verses (i.e., 72:8 and 10). (47) The word **צֵי** “ship” is used of ships in various contexts, but often in association with ships that attack foreign peoples (Assyrians in Num 24:24; Kushites in Ezek 30:9; and the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Dan 11:30). (48) Only the word “ship” appears in the singular in biblical and postbiblical literature; the word “desert-dweller” is always in the plural. Despite this, it is not inconceivable that in Sir 36:9 we have the singular form of the noun “desert-dweller.” In the end, discriminating between a figurative usage of “wild animal / desert-dweller” and a reference to an attacking “ship” (or “sailor”) is impossible when the context does not specify a maritime or a desert setting.

Given the misreading of the Ben Sira text as **צַר** by previous scholars, it is curious that many have proposed emending the text of Ps 72:9 such that it reads not **צַיִּים** but **צָרִים** “adversaries.” (49) Although this emendation in Psalms has little support from the LXX (Αἰθίοπες “Ethiopians”) or other versions (e.g., **אִפְרָכִיא** “prefects” [*Targ.*, perhaps < **אִפְרִיקָיא**\* “Africans” (?)]; *gzrt* “islands” [Peshitta]), there is some evidence to suggest that the earlier text of Sir 36:9 did contain the word **צַר**: the Syriac translation has *sn*’ “enemy” (which corresponds to **צַר** in Sir 12:18 [Ms A]; 47:7 [Ms B]; 50:4 [Ms B]; as well as in Ezra 4:1; Neh 4:5) and the Greek translation has ἀντίδικος “adversary.” (50) Furthermore, the verb **כָּנַע** in the *hiphil* appears with the object **צַר** “adversary” twice later in the same Ben Sira manuscript (Sir 46:18

(46) The instance in Ps 74:14 is ambiguous and may refer to humans or wild animals.

(47) Thanks to one anonymous reviewer for this suggestion. Note the similar usage of **אֵיבָה** “ship” in, e.g., Jonah 1:4.

(48) See H.-P. Müller, “**צַיִּ**,” *TDOT* 12:325–29.

(49) See BDB and Ges<sup>18</sup> for references.

(50) While *sn*’ is the typical manner of translating Heb **צַר** “adversary” in Ben Sira, the Greek word does not correspond to **צַר** in Ben Sira (instead ἐχθρός or ἔχθρα is found); only in the loosely similar Greek translation of Esth 8:11 does ἀντίδικος correspond to **צַר**. Elsewhere, the Greek word corresponds to the participle **מִרִּיב** “one contending” (1 Sam 2:10), the noun **רֵעַ** “friend” (Prov 18:17), the phrase **אִישׁ רֵיב** “person of dispute” (Isa 41:11) as well as **רֵיב** “dispute” (Jer 50:34; 51:36).

[Ms B] and 47:7 [Ms B]). (51) The reason that a rarer and more obscure word (צִי) would have supplanted a more common one (צַר) is explainable due to the allusiveness of צִי.

The word צִי has an effect on how we read Sirach 36. In general, this chapter alludes to or has resonances with many other texts. (52) The use of צִי would seem to call to mind the only other passage where it occurs in parallel with אֵיב:

Ps 72:9: לְפָנָיו יִכָּרְעוּ צִיִּים וְאִיְבֵי עָפָר יִלָּחֲכוּ “Before him the desert-dwellers (or, ships) bow and his enemies lick the dust.”

The verses of Sir 36:9 and Ps 72:9 are similar in containing the parallel words צִי and אֵיב, as well as the phonetically and semantically similar verbs כָּנַע and כָּרַע. (53) From the wider context of both passages, the phrase אֶפְסֵי אָרֶץ “ends of the earth” appears in both Sir 36:22 and Ps 72:8. It is important to note that in general Psalm 72 is associated

(51) The Greek ἠλκίσθω “destroy” corresponds to Hebrew כָּנַע in all three passages, while Syriac ʿbd “destroy” corresponds to כָּנַע in Sir 36:6.

(52) Note, e.g., the resonances with Isaiah 45, as cited, most recently by Marko Martilla, *Foreign Nations in the Wisdom of Ben Sira*; DCLS 13 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2012), 119–57: אֵין אֱלֹהִים וְזֹלָתָךְ in Sir 36:5 and Isa 45:5, 21; כֹּהֵן “title” in Sir 36:17 and Isa 45:4; כָּרַע in Sir 36:22 and Isa 45:22. Martilla (idem, 134) notes “the accumulation of parallel texts in a relatively short passage;” he continues: “That may speak in favour of the composer putting pieces together from different sources.” At least some of the allusions may be secondary, as with the phrase in Sir 36:10 תַּעֲשֶׂה כִּי מִי יֹאמַר לְךָ מָה תַּעֲשֶׂה “for who will say to you ‘what are you doing?’” which is not reflected in the Greek and which might derive from Job 9:12 and/or Qoh 8:4 (see Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, AB 39 [New York: Doubleday, 1987], 415). Note also M. R. Lehmann, “Ben Sira and the Qumran Literature,” *RevQ* 3 / 9 (1961): 103–116 (esp. 105–6); T. Middendorp, *Die Stellung Jesu Ben Siras zwischen Judentum und Hellenismus* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 125–32; J. Märbock, “Das Gebet um die Rettung Zions, Sir 36, 1–22 (Gr 33, 1–13a; 36, 16b–22) im Zusammenhang der Geschichtsschau Ben Siras,” in *Memoria Jerusalem: Freundesgabe Franz Sauer zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. J. B. Baer and J. Märbock (Graz: Akademische Druck-Verlagsanstalt, 1977), 93–116; Lutz Schrader, *Leiden und Gerechtigkeit: Studien zu Theologie und Textgeschichte des Sirachbuches*, BBET 27 (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1994), 87–93; Pancratius C. Beentjes, “Relations between Ben Sira and the Book of Ben Sira,” in *The Book of Isaiah / Le Livre d’Isaïe*, ed. J. Vermeylen, BETL 81 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 155–159 = idem, “Happy the One Who Meditates on Wisdom” (Sir. 14,20), *Collected Essays on the Book of Ben Sira*, CBET 43 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 201–206. For a thorough study of the passage, see Greg Schmidt Goering, *Wisdom’s Root Revealed: Ben Sira and the Election of Israel*, JSJSupp 139 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 198–224.

(53) Note that the *nun* and *resh* are phonetically similar and rarely alternate in certain words, e.g., לְשֹׁכָה “chamber” Neh 13:4, 5, 8 and נִשְׁכָּה “chamber” Neh 3:30; 12:44; 13:7; נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר “Nebuchadnesar” Jer 29:21; 32:1, etc. and נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר Jer 29:1, 3, etc. Note also the pair that is not necessarily related etymologically: לִחָשׁ “serpent-charming” (Qoh 10:11) and נִחָשׁ “divination” (Num 23:23).



with messianic expectations in later traditions (e.g., Matt 2:11; *Pss. Sol.* 17:26, 29–30; Justin, *Dial.* 34:3–6 and 64:6; *Targ. Ps.* 72). (54)

In addition, words spelled צי occur in two other biblical passages which seem relevant to this chapter of Sirach. In both passages one finds צי used in connection to כְּתִים: Num 24:24: כְּתִים וְעָנוּ אֲשׁוּר “and ships from Kittim will oppress Ashur” and Dan 11:30: וּבָאוּ בֹ צִיִּים כְּתִים “Kittim ships will come against him.” Sirach 36 seems to echo verses from surrounding material in both Numbers 24 and Daniel 11. In Sir 36:12, we find the strange expression הַשְׁבַּת רֹאשׁ פְּאֵתֵי מוֹאָב “eliminate the head of the lands (lit., borders) of Moab.” (55) The phrase פְּאֵתֵי מוֹאָב occurs only elsewhere in Num 24:17, in the famous verse that mentions “a star comes from Jacob” and a “scepter arises from Israel.” (56) In Num 24:17, the phrase is the object of a verb of destruction (מָחָץ “wipe out”), echoing the general sense of הַשְׁבַּת in Sir 36:12 (as well as the more violent nuance of the Greek σὺντρυψον “smash” that corresponds with it in the translation of Sir 36:12). (57)

In Sir 36:10, the pair of words קֵץ “end, time” and מוֹעֵד “appointed time” appear together: הַחֵישׁ קֵץ וּפְקֹד מוֹעֵד “hasten the end and appoint the time”; the use of this pair (and the first, קֵץ, without a definite article) is usually associated with the use of the same two words in, among other places, Dan 11:27, 35. (58) The fact that Sirach 36 is often understood as referring to Seleucid rulers and their aggressions,

(54) See, e.g., Marcel Poorthuis, “King Solomon and Psalms 72 and 24 in the Debate between Jews and Christians,” in *Jewish and Christian Liturgy and Worship: New Insights into Its History and Interaction*, ed. Albert Gerhards and Clemens Leonhard; Jewish and Christian Perspectives 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 257–78; Craig A. Evans, *Jesus and His Contemporaries: Comparative Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 2001 [first published 1995]), 176; Michael A. Knibb, “Messianism in the Pseudepigrapha in the Light of the Scrolls,” *DSD* 2 (1995): 165–84 (esp. 167) = idem, *Essays on the Book of Enoch and Other Early Jewish Texts and Traditions*, SVTP 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 307–26; Oskar Skarsaune, *The Proof from Prophecy: A Study in Justin Martyr’s Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 84.

(55) I assume that the word פֶּאֶה “corner, side, border” is being used in a metaphorical way similar to how אֶפֶס is in the phrase כָּל אֶפְסֵי אֶרֶץ “all the ends of the earth” = “all the earth” in Sir 36:22. Note also another minor resonance, between Sir 36 and Ps 74:14: “You crush the heads of Leviathan, you make it food for the people, the desert-dwellers (לְצִיִּים).”

(56) Though, note the similar פֶּאֶת מוֹאָב in Jer 48:45 and the quotation of מוֹאָב פְּאֵתֵי מוֹאָב in 1QM XI, 16 and 4Q175 I, 13.

(57) The Syriac for Sir 36:12, on the other hand, has *btl* “cease,” which corresponds to שָׁבַת in Sirach (e.g., Sir 3:15 [Ms A] and 7:6 [Ms A]) and the Bible (e.g., Gen 8:2 and Exod 5:5).

(58) The pair is also found in Deut 31:10; Hab 2:3; and, in construct, in Dan 8:9. See, e.g., Schechter and Taylor, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 60; Lévi, *L’Ecclésiastique*, 2:169–70; See Skehan and Di Lella, *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 422; John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 110.



if not to Antiochus IV Epiphanes himself (who is the object of concern in Daniel 11), further underlines the resonances between Sirach 36 and Daniel 11. (59)

Although we cannot be certain what the exact reference of the word צי is (desert-dweller or ship [sailor?]), it seems clear that its presence strongly evokes one text (Ps 72:9) that was later associated with apocalyptic and messianic expectations; in addition, in its context, the presence of צי subtly echoes two other apocalyptically oriented texts that have other resonances in Sirach 36 (Numbers 24 and Daniel 11). Such motifs are atypical of what we assume to be the earliest version of Ben Sira's book. It follows that the word צי is unlikely to be a word Ben Sira himself would have used in this passage, a conclusion supported by the ancient versions of Sir 36:9.

A major point of contention among Ben Sira scholars is whether Ben Sira himself authored the prayer of Sirach 36. (60) While the presence of צי in Sir 36:9 cannot on its own determine the poem's authorship, especially since it might be secondary to the prayer, the word צי does strongly suggest that Ben Sira did not write the prayer as it stands now.

### 3. Sir 36:23 (*Ms B [T-S 16.313] VI verso, line 17*)

כל מאכל אוכל גרגרת      אך יש אוכל מאכל נעים  
margin: כל נא[כ]לֹת סוגרת      אך יש מאכל ממאכל תנעים

Although the throat eats any food,  
some food is more pleasant than others.

margin: Anything that is eaten fills (?),  
but some food is more pleasant than  
others.

The new reading here is that of סוגרת as the final word of the marginal alternative of 23a, as well as the conjecture of נא[כ]לֹת. Previous editions have read this colon in different ways:

(59) It should be emphasized that Daniel 11 derives from a time after the "completion" of Ben Sira's book. Based only on the date of the composition of the two works, we might assume that Daniel 11 is dependent on Sirach, though it is likely, as stated above, that at least portions of Sirach 36 are later than Daniel 11. Note also that צי in Sir 36:9 would not likely be an explicit allusion to the ships from Dan 11:30 since the "Kittim ships" of Daniel are commonly assumed to be Roman ships coming to carry out God's punishment of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and in Sir 36:9 the צי are instead the target of God's punishment. Nevertheless, the word צי may allude to the general context of the Daniel passage, namely the punishment of a foreign power.

(60) See Martilla, *Foreign Nations*, 119–57; Middendorp, *Stellung Jesu Ben Siras*, 125–32; Märbock, "Gebet," 93–116; Schrader, *Leiden*, 87–93; Goering, *Wisdom's Root Revealed*, 198–224.

(Beentjes). (61) [---] תסוגר ב [---]

Though  $\text{לָת}[\text{כ}] \text{נָא}$  seems the most likely reading, another possibility is  $\text{לָת}[\text{כ}] \text{א' מ'}$ , implying the sense “a throat eats any f[ood] . . .” In this case, the word  $\text{סוּגֶרֶת}$  would be a synonym of  $\text{גִּרְגֵרֶת}$  “throat” and produce a meaning analogous to that of the main text. Yet another alternative is possible, if we assume that the initial marks of the second word are partially due to discoloration of the paper; we could instead

(61) Schechter and Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira*, 16; Lévi, *L'Ecclésiastique*, 2:172 (translating “Toute nourriture est enfermée dans le ventre”); Smend, *Sirach, hebräisch und deutsch*, 31 (Heb); Ben-Hayyim, *Ben Sira*, 35. Peters (*Ecclesiasticus*, 142) reads only תסור and Abegg and Towes (“Ben Sira”) only בִּסְסֹרָה; Segal (*Sefer Ben Sira ha-Shalem*, 232) cites Schechter and Taylor.

read גָּרַגְרָת. The entire colon could then be translated “every throat closes” and similarly if we read מְסוּגֶרֶת [גָּרַגְרָת].

The last word is without doubt a participle of the root סָגַר. That there was no final phrase (like בִּבְטֶן “in the belly”) is made clear by the fact that the top horizontal bar of the final *taw* extends to the end of the line (and the page). There are also faint traces of the *taw*’s right leg and foot (see the illustration in the Appendix). This manner of ending a line by extending the last letter is seen frequently in the Ms B main text, but also in the margin (see, e.g., רָעָה “evil” in Ms Bm [T-S 16.312] III verso, line 10 at Sir 31:6).

The meaning of 23a is particularly difficult to grasp and one wonders if this is a case of the manuscript containing a text that is incomprehensible without some correction. (62) The most basic sense, assuming the reading נֹאֲכָלֶת [כָּלֶת] and assuming no scribal error, would be “everything that is eaten closes.” This makes little sense, of course. The context alone would seem to suggest the sense “fills” or “satisfies” for סוּגֶרֶת, both of which are unknown for the verb. Still, a sense “fill” for סָגַר may have existed, having developed from the usage in Gen 2:21 where God closes the flesh of Adam after removing his rib (וַיִּסְגֵּר בֶּשֶׂר תַּחְתָּנָה) and Judg 3:22 where the fat of Eglon closes around

(62) Note the similarly structured verse (Sir 36:23c+d+) in Ms B, which reads כָּל נֹכֵר תֹאכֵל חַיָּה אֲךְ יֵשׁ מִכָּה מִמִּכָּה תִנְעַם “a wild animal eats anything that is recognizable, but one corpse (= מִכָּה) is more pleasant than another.” (On מִכָּה as “corpse,” see John Strugnell, “Of Cabbages and Kings—or Queens: Notes on Ben Sira 36:18–21,” in *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays: Studies in Honor of William Franklin Stinespring*, ed James F. Efrid [Durham: Duke University Press, 1972], 204–209 [esp. 207]). These words, obviously, seem unlikely to reflect a proverb from the earliest strata of the text. Strugnell suggested reading the entire bicolon: “a wild animal eats anything it digs up (נֹכֵר), though one truffle (כִּמְה) is more pleasant than another (מִמִּכָּה)” (idem). This explanation is unsatisfactory if, for no other reason, than it presumes a knowledge of truffles and their various degrees of desirability. Furthermore, the reading נֹכֵר is certain; the second letter is not a *beth*, as implied in his translation. More likely, we have here a variation on the idea expressed in Greek in the verse labeled 36:(23) 26: πάντα ἄρρενα ἐπιδέξεται γυνή, ἔστιν δὲ θυγάτηρ θυγατρὸς κρείσσω “a woman can accept any man, but one daughter is better than another” and the Hebrew of the main text מֵאִשָּׁה יָפָה [שָׂא] אֲךְ יֵשׁ אִשָּׁה [שָׂא] “a woman may accept any man, but one woman is more beautiful than an[other].” The earlier version of the Hebrew 23c+d+, on the other hand, might have run: כָּל זָכָר לִקְחָה אִשָּׁה אֶ: “a woman takes any man, but there is a bride (= מְכֻרָה) that is more pleasant than another.” The verb *mkr* means “betroth” predominantly (if not exclusively) in Syriac where the passive participle indicates “one betrothed.” If such a reconstruction is correct, it would be another instance of a Syriacism in the Hebrew of Ben Sira. As a comparison, note the frequency of times that *resh* is lost in the orthography of the Dead Sea Scrolls (see Eric D. Raymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology*, RBS 76 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014], 29–30 and literature cited there).

Ehud’s blade (ויסגר החלב בעד הלהב) (63). That the act in Gen 2:21 was associated with the concept of filling is suggested by the ancient translations: ἀναπλήρωσεν “he filled up” (LXX) and ומלי “he filled” (*Targ. Onq.*). If סגר did have such a connotation, then it is conceivable it also expressed the associated sense “satisfy,” as does the *piel* of מלא.

If we assume the reading מ' א' [כ] ל' ת, then סוגרת could have the sense “throat.” Although no word associated with the root סגר has this sense in Hebrew, a connection between the concept of closing and the throat is implied by the Syriac word *zgrwr* “throat,” which derives from the root *zgr* “retain,” which is itself a variant of Syriac *sgr* (so, *CAL*). If we read ג' ר' [ג] ר' ת, the meaning “every throat closes” is not transparent, but perhaps the words could be understood as expressing satisfaction. Notice that an open throat is a metaphor for gluttony, as reflected in Sir 31:12 (Ms B), where we find “do not open your throat (גרונך) above it (i.e., the table).”

Ultimately, we cannot be sure of the sense of the colon, and thus any conclusions regarding the sense of סוגרת must remain conjectural. Nevertheless, it seems possible that סוגרת is used in a way that is otherwise unknown from other Hebrew literature.

## Conclusion

The three new readings in the Hebrew Manuscript B of the Wisdom of Ben Sira are described above. The word זלק “lightning (flash / bolt)” in Sir 43:13 suggests the possible existence of this word in the Hebrew of the Middle Ages, as well as the definite existence of such a word in Syriac. The appearance of זלק also reflects a broader phenomenon of the Ben Sira manuscripts, namely the apparent influence of Syriac on the Hebrew text. The word צי provides new allusive resonances in Sirach 36, connecting this passage with other texts that were interpreted in antiquity as expressing messianic and apocalyptic ideas. These resonances contribute to the argument that—in its present form—the prayer of chapter 36 was not composed by Ben Sira himself. The third reading, סוגרת, complicates any understanding of the marginal reading of Sir 36:23, though one may speculate about possible new senses it may express.

Together, the three new readings reflect different facets of the transmission of the Ben Sira text. The word זלק illustrates how rare words (often attested elsewhere only in Aramaic) appear in the Hebrew of the

(63) See the definition of סגר in the lexicon of יעקב כנעני (Jacob Knaani), *אוצר הלשון העברית* (Jerusalem: Massada, 1972), 12:3938.

Wisdom of Ben Sira. In at least some (if not most) cases, the words are likely to be the result of scribes who copied out the Ben Sira text and were at least familiar with, if not fluent in, different varieties of Aramaic. The word **צִי** illustrates the difficulty in assessing which words can be considered original, or just earlier, than others. This word also illustrates how biblical words and phrases are often slightly altered in the text of Ben Sira (in this case from two plural words in parallel to the singular forms **צִי** // **אֵיב**). The third word, **סוגרת**, illustrates another problem, the difficulty posed by reading partially preserved words and the possibility that the text simply makes no sense, even were we able to read it clearly.

## Appendix

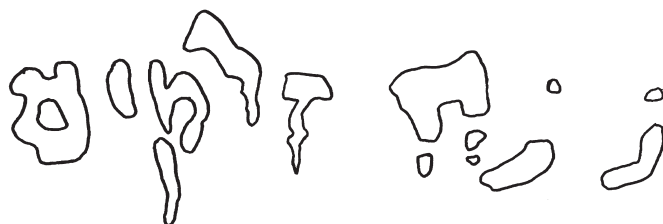


Illustration 1: Sir 43:13 (Ms B [MS heb.e.62/5] XII verso, line 15):  
[ת]נצח זלקים



Illustration 2: Sir 36:8–9 (Ms B [T-S 16.313] VI verso, line 6): צִי



Illustration 3: Sir 36:23 (Ms B [T-S 16.313] VI verso, line 17):  
כָּל נְאֻם [כ]לֹת סוגרת

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# WHOSE SPEECH IS IT ANYWAY? ON THE INTERPRETATION OF 4Q378 FRG. 3 II\*

## *Summary*

The highly fragmentary Qumran manuscript 4Q378, also known as 4QApocryphon of Joshua<sup>a</sup>, features a rewritten version of the Joshua tradition as found in the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua. On frg. 3, to which the small frg. 4 may be joined, an account of the succession of Moses by Joshua is preserved. Part of this account, col. ii features a speech by a first-person plural subject which apparently is based on Josh 1:16–18, the Transjordanian tribes' response to Joshua. While there is broad agreement as to the identification of the biblical base text, substantial problems in the interpretation of the rewritten version have yet to be discussed, including the question of who is speaking. While Devorah Dimant and Ariel Feldman have argued that the response of the Transjordanian tribes is reworked by the scribe into an address by all Israel, the present paper makes the case for the Transjordanian tribes as the subject also in the rewritten version.

**T**HE highly fragmentary Qumran manuscript 4Q378, or 4QApocryphon of Joshua<sup>a</sup>, as in the DJD edition, features a reworked version of the Joshua tradition. (1) Provisionally labeled “The

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(1) Carol Newsom, “4QApocryphon of Joshua<sup>a-b</sup>,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, ed. George Brooke et al., DJD XXII (Oxford: Clarendon,

Psalms of Joshua” by John Strugnell, to whom the fragments of that manuscript as well as of 4Q379, or 4QApocryphon of Joshua<sup>b</sup>, had originally been assigned, the editor, Carol Newsom, observed that their content was “largely narrative and hortatory rather than poetic,” leading her to suggest the now widely used designation as an “Apocryphon of Joshua.” (2) While the fragments reflect essential components of the canonical Joshua story as we know it from the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua, it strikes the reader that key discursive elements found in the biblical base text have been reworked into significantly expanded versions. Arguably the most notable example of this phenomenon is the account of the succession of Moses by Joshua preserved on 4Q378 frg. 3, to which the small frg. 4 may be joined, featuring two rather lengthy discourses. Devorah Dimant and Ariel Feldman have each discussed these discourses in detail. (3) Prompted by their analyses, the

1996), 237–288. See also the more recent edition in Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings, Volume Two* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2013).

(2) All quotes from Newsom, “4QApocryphon of Joshua,” 237. See also the preliminary editions in Carol Newsom, “The ‘Psalms of Joshua’ from Qumran Cave 4,” *JJS* 39 (1988): 56–73 and Carol Newsom, “4Q378 and 4Q379: An Apocryphon of Joshua,” in *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.–26. Juli 1993*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger, *Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum* 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 35–85, discussing this issue. Adopting the established term to describe his reconstruction of “the rewritten book of Joshua as found at Qumran and Masada” (on that putative composition, see note 3 below), Emanuel Tov, “The Rewritten Book of Joshua as Found at Qumran and Masada,” in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays*, TSAJ 121 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 71–91, here 71 nevertheless notes: “The term ‘apocryphon’ is probably not the most appropriate for this composition and, in fact, a name such as ‘paraphrase of Joshua’ would be more appropriate.”

(3) Devorah Dimant, “Two Discourses from the *Apocryphon of Joshua* and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” *RevQ* 23 (2007): 43–61; Ariel Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran: Texts, Translations, and Commentary*, BZAW 438 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 24–73, esp. 28–37. In the latter, this is part of the more far-reaching question as to the literary context, that is, whether 4Q378 and 4Q379 along with further manuscripts found at Qumran and Masada pertaining to the Joshua tradition, or presumed to do so (4Q522; 4Q123; 5Q9; Mas 1039–211; see the critical inventories in Florentino García Martínez, “Light on the Joshua Books from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts—The Historical Books*, ed. Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, and Julio Trebolle Barrera, BETL 246 [Leuven: Peeters, 2012], 145–159, here 151–158; Florentino García Martínez, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Book of Joshua,” in *Qumran and the Bible: Studying the Jewish and Christian Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Norá Dávid and Armin Lange, CBET 57 [Leuven: Peeters, 2010], 97–109, here 103–108; Michaël N. van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation: The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses*, VTSup 102 [Leiden: Brill, 2004], 105–114),



present paper focuses on the second discourse, found in col. ii of frg. 3, and inquires into the subject of this speech and its bearing on the interpretation of the discourse itself.

### 1. 4Q378 Frg. 3 ii as Rewritten Bible

On 4Q378 frg. 3, two columns have been partially preserved: the left side of one column, commonly referred to as col. i, and the right side of the following one, col. ii, featuring fifteen and ten extant lines respectively. While the margin between these columns is well-preserved, there are neither top nor bottom margins. As to the content, col. i offers a speech which is reminiscent of Moses's great covenant speeches in Deuteronomy, particularly through the use of motifs best known from the curse section of Deut 28 and related passages. However, the subject of that discourse is most probably not Moses himself, as reference is apparently made to him in the third person (l. 4: **הַאֱלֹהִים** [אֵי]). (4) Rather, the speaker appears to be Joshua, as has been plausibly surmised by Dimant, (5) followed by Feldman. (6) Col. ii contains the discourse under scrutiny here, uttered by a first-person plural subject. Although set in relative proximity to the address presumably given by Joshua in col. i, it cannot be established that this second discourse followed immediately after the first one; as already mentioned, neither the bottom margin of col. i nor the top margin of col. ii have been preserved.

The following table presents a reading based on PAM 43.193 (DJD 22, plate XVII) and informed by Newsom, Dimant and Feldman as well as the recent edition of Elisha Qimron and a comprehensive 2016 article by Émile Puech. (7) In light of these excellent treatments, the subsequent notes and comments are kept to a minimum, and are

testify to one single composition, as has been argued by Tov, "The Rewritten Book of Joshua as Found at Qumran and Masada," or not. For a comprehensive discussion, see Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 187–193. Most recently, see also Émile Puech, "Les manuscrits de Qumrân inspirés du livre de Josué: 4Q378, 4Q379, 4Q175, 4Q522, 5Q9 et Mas1039–211," *RevQ* 28 (2016): 45–116.

(4) See the comments on this line by Newsom, "4QApocryphon of Joshua," 244 and Dimant, "Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii)," 49.

(5) Dimant, "Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii)," 49.

(6) Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 66. See also *ibid.*, 31.

(7) Newsom, "4QApocryphon of Joshua," 245–46; Dimant, "Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii)," 53–58; Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 34–37; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 64; Puech, "Les manuscrits de Qumrân inspirés du livre de Josué," 50–51.

confined to issues of importance for the question at hand. It should be mentioned, however, that a certain reluctance regarding the reconstruction of nonextant text based on comparative material culled from the Hebrew Bible, which stands out especially vis-à-vis the work of Dimant, Feldman and Puech, is due to methodological considerations rather than thematic restraint; I will return to this point shortly. (8)

	ויוצא]	3
[ככל אשר]	ועתה היום ]	4
	שמענו למושה כן] נשמע אליכה	5
[שרי האלפים ושרי]	איש ישר וגדול ]	6
	המאיות שרי הח[משים ושרי העשרות	7
[כול איש אשר ימרה את פיך ולוא]	ולשוטרים ] [ל]	8
	ישמע ולוא]	9
[ולוא]	ואל תחת חזק וא[מץ כי את] ה תנחיל את]	10
	ירפכה ולא יעזב[כה ועתה ת] חוקנה ידיך]	11
	למסע ל]	12

### *Select Notes on the Reading*

L. 5: There is a space at the beginning of the line, allowing for the addition of a *waw*. While noting that no traces of ink appear, Newsom opts to do so, (9) as does Qimron. (10) However, Dimant suggests that the space has been left uninscribed due to an unevenness of the parchment. In any case, a conjunction is not required syntactically, as she rightly remarks. (11)

L. 9: There is no space between the two extant words. Hence, one could read *ישמעו לוא*, although such a construction seems less likely from a syntactical point of view. (12)

Ll. 10–11: Following the proposal of Newsom, frg. 4 is perceived here also to exhibit parts of these lines. (13) Against her initial reconstruction, however, the beginning of the extant text of l. 10 on frg. 4 is restored to read *את*. (14)

(8) See the comments on ll. 3 and 4–5 below as well as the paragraph concluding the present section.

(9) Newsom, “4QApocryphon of Joshua,” 245.

(10) Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 64.

(11) Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 53.

(12) Thus Newsom, “4QApocryphon of Joshua,” 245, followed by Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 54.

(13) See Newsom, “4QApocryphon of Joshua,” 245 in conjunction with plate XVII.

(14) With Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 53–54. Thus also Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 34; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 64.

*Translation*

- 3 and he brought out[  
 4 And now today [ Just as]  
 5 we obeyed Moses, s[o we will obey you  
 6 a man upright and great [ the leaders of thousands and the leaders of]  
 7 hundreds and the leaders of f[ifties and the leaders of tens  
 8 and to the officers [ ] [ Whoever rebels against your orders and does not]  
 9 obey and does not[  
 10 and do not be dismayed. Be strong and courageous, for you shall put in pos-  
 session[ and he will not]  
 11 fail you or forsake [you. And now let] your hands be strong[  
 12 to set out

*Select Comments*

L. 3: It indeed seems most likely that the preserved verbal expression ויוצא (“and he brought out”) is part of a reference to the exodus. Yet this hardly justifies reconstructing the line according to Deut 4:20, as Dimant, Feldman and Puech propose to do. (15) A scribe like the one responsible for this fine piece of biblical interpretation does not need a *Vorlage* in order to employ יצא Hiphil when presenting the exodus event. In other words, there is no way, in my view, from the remains of l. 3 to the original wording of that line. We simply cannot know what the text looked like here.

Ll. 4–5: In these lines, the situation is different. The text preserved at the beginning of l. 5 is significant both for its wording and in the present context. As it unmistakably echoes Josh 1:17a, the centerpiece of the Transjordanian tribes’ pledge of allegiance to Joshua in Josh 1:16–18, the latter part of l. 4 and its immediate continuation in l. 5 may be restored according to that verse. (16)

Ll. 6–8: The wording preserved in l. 7 invokes the tradition of Moses’ installation of subordinate officials in charge of any case that is not “too hard” for them (thus Exod 18:22, 26; cf. also Deut 1:17b); see Exod 18:21b, 25b and Deut 1:15 in their respective contexts. Deut 1:15bβ also mentions שטרים in this context, and from the LXX version of the latter passage, καὶ γραμματοεισαγωγεῖς τοῖς κριταῖς ὑμῶν, one may

(15) Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 54; Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 35; Puech, “Les manuscrits de Qumrân inspirés du livre de Josué,” 51.

(16) With Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 56; Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 36, and already Newsom, “4QApocryphon of Joshua,” 245. On the interchange of the prepositions אל and ל, see Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 35.

even reconstruct a reference to שפטים\* here. (17) Unlike in Deut 1:15, however, in our fragment the mention of שוטרים does not follow the list of שרים immediately, and unlike the latter, it is construed with the preposition ל. In addition, it should be noted that שוטרים are also mentioned in Josh 1:10–11. In light of these observations, reconstructing the end of l. 7 to read לשובטים\*, as proposed by Dimant, Feldman and already Newsom, (18) who refer to the fact that the “judges” and “officers” are also found in the lists in Josh 23:2 and 24:1, is not quite as well-founded as is their restoration of the list of שרים in ll. 6–7.

Ll. 8–9: In light of ll. 4–5, which echo the Transjordanian tribes’ pledge of allegiance to Joshua in Josh 1:16–18, the wording preserved in l. 9 is reminiscent of Josh 1:18, which details the consequences of that pledge. Hence the above restoration of l. 8, which follows that of Dimant and Feldman. (19) As for the remainder of l. 9, I remain more hesitant given the clear difference in syntax.

Ll. 10–11: There can be little doubt that these lines allude to the encouragement of Joshua as the new leader of Israel, which is part and parcel of Joshua’s succession of Moses as depicted in Deut 1–3, Deut 31, and Josh 1 (see especially Deut 3:28, 31:7–8, and Josh 1:5b–6; see also Deut 31:23). While the phrase חזק ואמץ alone is enough to evoke that context, there is a whole cluster of related phrases which are variably joined with it in the biblical passages just cited. Almost all of them reappear in ll. 10–11 of the fragment. The reconstruction of the wording itself is not too difficult, since most of the meaningful words are preserved at least in part. Yet there is a methodological problem regarding the identification of the alleged secondary base texts. (20) Considering the obvious flexibility with which the Deuteronomistic

(17) Cf. Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 36, note 171. See, however, the skeptical remark in Carmel McCarthy, *Deuteronomy*, BHQ 5 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 50\*–51\*, referring to Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed., JBS 8 (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 140–141.

(18) Newsom, “4QApocryphon of Joshua,” 246; Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 56; Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 36.

(19) Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 56; Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 36. See further Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 64; Puech, “Les manuscrits de Qumrân inspirés du livre de Josué,” 50.

(20) For the latter term, see Armin Lange, “From Paratexts to Commentary,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)*, ed. Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref, STDJ 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 195–216, here 207, who states that “paratextual rewritings” (including 4Q378) “rewrite a main base text but include secondary base texts into their re-narration as well.”

phraseology is used in the biblical account, it does not seem to be particularly productive to search for exact matches of certain forms or combinations and to try to determine precisely which passage of the succession account as we have it in Deuteronomy and Joshua is reused here. (21) Rather, the occurrence of these phrases should be taken to indicate *that* the tradition of Joshua's commissioning as Israel's new leader is taken up. This is also the function of *חזק ואמץ* in the Transjordanian tribes' response to Joshua (Josh 1:18) and their echoing of YHWH's assurance to be with Joshua as he was with Moses (Josh 1:17, taking up Josh 1:5b and Deut 31:8). In this way, Josh 1:16–18 emerges as part of the larger succession narrative.

Considering the above observations, 4Q378 frg. 3 ii has rightly been classified as an example of the broader category of "rewritten Bible," (22) the main base text being the Transjordanian tribes' speech in Josh 1:16–18. (23) In this regard, the evidence brought out by Dimant and Feldman, among others, appears to be conclusive. (24) In their approach, however, this insight comes with a further assumption that has far-reaching implications for the interpretation of that rewriting, namely, that the speaker in our fragment differs from the one in the biblical base text. While in Josh 1 the passage is construed as the Transjordanian tribes' response to Joshua's address to them, "it seems," according to Dimant, "that the speech of the Transjordanian tribes is adapted by the present Qumran author to form an address of the people of Israel as a whole." (25) If correct, this would be a most interesting reconfiguration of the biblical base text, as Feldman rightly notes (26)—particularly given that, according to recent scholarly discussions, Josh 1:16–18 exhibits an exegetical problem to which this presumed ancient "exegesis" seems to respond.

(21) Cf. e.g. Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 36–37.

(22) See already Newsom, "4QApocryphon of Joshua," 237, followed by Dimant, "Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii)," 45–46 and Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 190–191. For a helpful theoretical discussion, see Lange, "From Paratexts to Commentary," 204–211, esp. 207.

(23) Dimant, "Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii)," 58 and passim; Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 25 and passim. See also Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 64.

(24) By contrast, see the rather skeptical assessment in van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 108.

(25) Dimant, "Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii)," 55. See also Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 66, citing Dimant, and already Newsom, "4QApocryphon of Joshua," 245: "it may be the whole people who reply."

(26) See the summary in Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 195.

## 2. The Biblical Base Text and Its Exegetical Problem

Taking up the thread where Deuteronomy has left off, the book of Joshua commences with YHWH's commissioning of Joshua as Moses' successor and Israel's new leader. The opening address in Josh 1:2ff. unmistakably harks back to the pertinent passages in Deut 3 (YHWH instructs Moses regarding his succession by Joshua, vv. 27–28) and Deut 31 (Moses instructs Joshua accordingly, vv. 2, 7–8). Thus having been commissioned to lead the people into the land west of the Jordan, Joshua first turns to the “officers of the people” (שטרי העם, Josh 1:10). In a brief, matter-of-fact order he tells them to tell the people to get their supplies ready (הכינו לכם צידה, v. 11), thus preparing to cross the Jordan. He then addresses Reuben, Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh—the Transjordanian tribes who, according to Deut 3, have already been given their land east of the Jordan (Josh 1:12–15). The tone of this address is quite different. Carefully crafting his speech, and employing the theologically laden motif of the “rest” YHWH promised to give to his people, Joshua asks the Transjordanian tribes to join forces with their “brethren” (v. 14) and to support them in the imminent conquest of the land west of the Jordan. While putting particular emphasis on this request, Joshua does not pick his words freely. Rather, his address is a quotation of Moses' command in Deut 3:18–20, which he simply reiterates.

The immediate continuation of this address, Josh 1:16–18, reads as follows:

16 ויענו את יהושע לאמר כל אשר צויתנו נעשה ואל כל אשר תשלחנו נלך  
 17 ככל אשר שמענו אל משה כן נשמע אליך רק יהיה יהוה אלהיך עמך כאשר  
 היה עם משה  
 18 כל איש אשר ימרה את פיך ולא ישמע את דבריך לכל אשר תצוונו יומת רק  
 חזק ואמץ

16 They answered Joshua: “All that you have commanded us we will do, and wherever you send us we will go.

17 Just as we obeyed Moses in all things, so we will obey you.  
 Only may YHWH your God be with you, as he was with Moses!

18 Whoever rebels against your orders and does not obey your words, whatever you command, shall be put to death. Only be strong and courageous!”

“They answered Joshua”—who did? Read in context, that is, against the background of Joshua's address to the Transjordanian tribes, the subject seems to be self-evident, all the more so since the speech is explicitly marked as an answer (ויענו, v. 16). One could, however, sense a certain discrepancy between an ascription to the Transjordanian tribes

and the markedly programmatic character of this discourse. At any rate, it is presented as an address of the most general kind; every single statement contains the word כל. What is more, the address takes up YHWH's assurance to be with Joshua as he was with Moses (Josh 1:17b, echoing Josh 1:5b), thus adding to the solemn tone of the response.

In fact, this seeming discrepancy is increasingly perceived as a problem. A growing number of exegetes conjecture that Josh 1:16–18 should be read as a pledge of allegiance not of the Transjordanian tribes, but of the people as a whole. (27) As such, they argue, the piece promotes an “all Israel” ideology, that is, in the present narrative context, the notion that all twelve tribes together participated in the conquest of the land west of the Jordan. (28) However, while this reading seems to solve one problem, it also creates another, since the presumed subject has not been addressed in the previous context; in fact, the people have not even been introduced as an actor. Therefore, one would be hard-pressed to make a case for the people themselves speaking in vv. 16–18. (29) But what about the “officers of the people” mentioned in vv. 10–11? Could it not be they who, representing “all Israel,” (30) speak the people's mind?

In support of this increasingly popular view, two different approaches may be discerned. On the one hand, there is the literary-critical approach, which argues that Joshua's address to the Transjordanian tribes in vv. 12–15 should be judged as a secondary insertion. (31) On this understanding, the subject implied in the verb ויענו of v. 16 would indeed seem to be the officers (vv. 10–11) instead of the Transjordanian tribes (vv. 12–15). (32) But this analysis has been shown to be

(27) See e.g. the perusal of scholarship in Trent C. Butler, *Joshua 1–12*, 2nd ed., WBC 7A (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014), 229–230. See also Thomas B. Dozeman, *Joshua 1–12: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 6B (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015), 222.

(28) Thus, with particular emphasis, Christa Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua und Salomo: Eine Studie zu Autorität und Legitimität des Nachfolgers im Alten Testament*, VTSup 58 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 207 (“die Einheit im Handeln aller Stämme”).

(29) Pace Christoph Barth, “Die Antwort Israels,” in *Probleme biblischer Theologie: Gerhard von Rad zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans W. Wolff (Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1971), 44–56, here 48–53. More recently, see also Hartmut N. Rösel, *Joshua*, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 27, 39.

(30) Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua und Salomo*, 207 (“Vertreter aller Stämme”).

(31) Thus Klaus Bieberstein, *Josua—Jordan—Jericho: Archäologie, Geschichte und Theologie der Landnahmeerzählung Josua 1–6*, OBO 143 (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1995), 98–100 and Ernst Axel Knauf, *Josua*, ZBK 6 (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2008), 40, among others.

(32) See the interpretation of Josh 1 in Knauf, *Josua*, 40: “Die Investitur erfolgt in Form einer Gottesrede (2–9). Darauf gibt Josua seinem Stab den ersten Befehl (10–11), auf den die Heeresordner (oder das gesamte Kriegsvolk?) mit einer Akklamation



unfounded. (33) On the other hand, there is a somewhat elaborate syntactical interpretation, arguing that the answer of vv. 16–18 comes from both the officers of vv. 10–11 *and* the Transjordanian tribes of vv. 12–15. (34) In support of this view, the *w<sup>c</sup>-x-qāṭal* opening of v. 12 is taken to indicate “simultaneous action.” (35) Thus, coming from both actors mentioned in the previous context, vv. 16–18 are construed as “all Israel’s response.” (36) Yet this interpretation hardly suits the syntax of v. 12, the most natural understanding of which is that the “[d]isjunctive word order foregrounds the eastern tribes as a new topic.” (37)

Thus, on a purely textual basis, the officers (שטרי העם) hardly suggest themselves as the subject of the response in vv. 16–18. But even if spoken by them, to interpret the answer as “all Israel’s response” one also needs to presuppose that this rather obscure group of subordinate officials is in a position to represent the people as a whole. However, as far as the regrettably scarce evidence in the Hebrew Bible indicates, שטרים were charged with specific, and hence limited, tasks. In the present context, that seems to be the mustering of troops for war (cf. Deut 20:5–9). (38) By contrast, there is nothing to substantiate the claim that they could act in place of the people, particularly not in a fundamental affair such as the solemn pledge of allegiance to the new leader. (39)

In short, Josh 1:16–18 is not a speech of all Israel. However, the various scholarly approaches arguing that case evince a sure intuition for the key exegetical problem of the pericope: Despite being a response

antworten (16–18), die seine ‘Legitimation von oben’ mit der ‘Akzeptanz von unten’ ergänzt. Der innere Zusammenhang und die logische Abfolge dieser drei Szenen wird in 12–15 durch das Sonderproblem der transjordanischen Stämme unterbrochen, so dass die Antwort von 16–18 nun Ruben, Gad und halb Manasse in den Mund gelegt wird.”

(33) See the detailed discussion in Joachim J. Krause, *Exodus und Eisodus: Komposition und Theologie von Josua 1–5*, VTSup 161 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 119–120 and 126–127 (with further literature).

(34) David M. Howard, “All Israel’s Response to Joshua: A Note on the Narrative Framework of Joshua 1,” in *Fortunate the Eyes that See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Astrid B. Beck et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 81–91. See further David M. Howard, *Joshua*, NAC 5 (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman, 1998), 94–96.

(35) Howard, “All Israel’s Response to Joshua,” 83–85, with the quote on 84.

(36) Howard, “All Israel’s Response to Joshua,” 81.

(37) Thus with Richard D. Nelson, *Joshua: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 35.

(38) Dozeman, *Joshua 1–12*, 220–221.

(39) In support of that view, Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua und Salomo*, 207 refers to Exod 20:19 and Deut 5:27–28. Yet aside from the fact that these passages have their own very special context, neither of them mentions שטרים.

of the two and a half Transjordanian tribes, it indeed is “all Israel” that is at stake in this discourse. And that question, in turn, is only to be expected in connection with the critical transfer of leadership from the unmatched Moses to Joshua.

### 3. The Interpretation of 4Q378 Frg. 3 ii by Devorah Dimant and Ariel Feldman

Informed by this state of affairs regarding the biblical base text, we are now in a position to appreciate the interpretation of 4Q378 frg. 3 ii proposed by Devorah Dimant and Ariel Feldman. As already mentioned, they are of the opinion that, in the rewritten version, the speech of the Transjordanian tribes is reworked “into a full-blown address by the entire nation” (40): “the original tribal speech is converted into a discourse of the entire people of Israel.” (41) In so doing, this version emphasizes “the acceptance of Joshua’s leadership by the entire people of Israel,” (42) that is, “by all the tribes of Israel,” (43) Dimant further submits. Dimant and Feldman give various reasons in support of this interpretation. In what follows, these reasons are compiled and critically assessed.

First, and most fundamentally, Dimant refers to “the general context.” (44) While she does not elaborate on that point, behind it there seems to be a similar intuition as the one leading biblical scholars to ascribe the base text to the people as a whole. (45) Yet this intuition, sure as it may be, cannot be adequately appreciated as long as one does not ask the reverse question, namely, *why* the Transjordanian tribes, of all people, should be the subject of a most general pledge of allegiance; I will return to this point when giving my own interpretation. (46)

Second, it is argued by Dimant that the scroll “omits the issue of the Transjordanian obligation to share the conquest battles of Canaan, a theme which introduces their answer to Joshua in the biblical account

(40) Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 67.

(41) Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 58. As Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 35 puts it, “The scroll rewrites the reply of the Transjordanian tribes to Joshua [...] as if spoken by the entire nation of Israel.”

(42) Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 55.

(43) Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 59.

(44) Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 55.

(45) See section 2 above.

(46) See section 4 below.

(Josh 1:12–15).” (47) It is true that the issue of the Transjordanian tribes supporting their “brothers” in the conquest west of the Jordan is *the* critical question in the interaction of Joshua with these two and a half tribes according to Josh 1. Therefore, if it could be demonstrated that it was omitted, that would indeed be a strong indicator for a more general interpretation ascribing the discourse of frg. 3 ii to the people as a whole. However, the alleged omission seems to be beyond reach. In the biblical account, the address of the Transjordanian tribes (Josh 1:16–18) is preceded by Joshua’s request to them (Josh 1:12–15). While the preserved text of frg. 3 ii testifies to a reworking of that address, the previous context is lost. We simply do not know whether it featured Joshua’s request or not.

Third, in a comment on ll. 6–8, Dimant notes that “the leaders of all Israel are mentioned.” (48) Shortly afterwards she adds: “The Qumran text introduces Israelite officials who are not mentioned in the biblical narrative. [...] The reference to these officials shows that the entire people is involved.” (49) There is a whole set of problems with this argument. To begin with, at least the “officers” (שוטרים) mentioned in l. 8 do appear already in Josh 1, as we have seen. Admittedly, in the rewritten version they are now mentioned in close proximity with further officials, namely, the שרים or “leaders of thousands and of hundreds and of fifties and of tens” (ll. 6–7, partly reconstructed). Unfortunately, however, the preserved text does not indicate the function of either of these two groups. This is brought out quite clearly by Dimant herself when she conjectures: “Perhaps they are mentioned in this context to suggest that any disobedience to Joshua will be disciplined by them.” (50) In fact, as demonstrated by Feldman, the fragmentary remains do not even allow to determine with certainty whether

(47) Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 56.

(48) Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 55.

(49) Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 56.

(50) Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 56. Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 67 also tries another explanation: The scroll “refers to Moses’ appointment of the officers (Exod 18; Deut 1), apparently suggesting that Joshua is to be obeyed because he is also Moses’ appointee.” Apart from the fact that the fragmentary state of the text does not appeal to me as being particularly “apparent,” this presumed correlation of Joshua, whose introduction as the successor of Moses is one of the major themes of the narrative framework in Deuteronomy, and the scarcely mentioned subordinate officials strikes me as quite an unlikely exegetical initiative, even granted a rather creative reworking of the biblical tradition.

the speech is about these officials, spoken by them (51) or—as suggested by Newsom (52)—spoken to them.

At least as difficult is the fact that it is far from evident which function these officials possibly *could* have had, in other words, how much authority a scribe would have attributed to them. As concerns the שוטרים and their limited responsibility according to the biblical tradition, suffice it here to recall the above discussion of Josh 1. (53) The case of the שרים drawn from Exod 18:21, 25 par. Deut 1:15 is even more clear-cut. According to these passages, which are employed by the scroll as secondary base texts, as Dimant, Feldman and already Newsom have convincingly shown, (54) there can be no doubt regarding their subordinate position. Consider Exod 18:26: “hard cases they brought to Moses, but any minor case they decided themselves.” Should our present scribe have envisioned these officials to have assumed the leadership of the people as a whole? And if so, how does that go together with the leadership role of Joshua? In a word, the subordinate officials mentioned in ll. 6–8 hardly suggest themselves as “the leaders of all Israel,” (55) especially given what is at stake at this critical crossroads.

Fourth, there is a strong new argument which Feldman has brought up for discussion, namely, the comparison with Pseudo-Philo’s account of the succession of Moses by Joshua found in LAB. (56) Thus, 4Q378 is located in its broader “exegetical context.” (57) It will be helpful to quote the pertinent passage from LAB 20 before discussing it. The following English translation comes from the commentary of Howard Jacobson, (58) also used by Feldman.

- 3 Joshua took the garments of wisdom and clothed himself and girded his loins with the belt of understanding. When he clothed himself with it, his mind was kindled and his spirit was aroused, and he said to the people, “Behold, the prior generation died in the wilderness because

(51) Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 36.

(52) Newsom, “4QApocryphon of Joshua,” 246.

(53) See p. 10.

(54) Newsom, “4QApocryphon of Joshua,” 246; Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 56; Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 36.

(55) To quote again Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 55.

(56) Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 67–69.

(57) Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 194–201, esp. 195.

(58) Howard Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo’s Liber antiquitatum biblicarum: With Latin Text and English Translation*, vol. 1, AGJU 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 124.

- they opposed their God. Behold now, all you tribes, be aware today that if you go in the ways of your God, you will prosper.
- 4 If however you do not heed his voice and you be like your fathers, your affairs will be ruined and you yourselves will be crushed and your name will perish from the earth. [...] Now rise up and set your heart to walk in the ways of your Lord, and he will make you prosper.”
- 5 The people said to him, “Behold, we see today what Eldad and Medad prophesied in the days of Moses, saying, ‘After Moses’ death, the leadership of Moses will be given to Joshua the son of Nun.’ Moses was not jealous but rejoiced when he heard them. From then on all the people believed that you would exercise leadership over them and apportion the land to them. Now even if there is conflict, be strong and resolute, because you alone will be ruler in Israel.”

As aptly observed by Feldman, in contradistinction to the biblical account, LAB features a speech of principal importance concerning the future fate of Israel, which is delivered by Joshua upon assuming leadership and is addressed to the people as a whole. This certainly is an interesting parallel to the discourse preserved in col. i of our fragment. (59) Without denying this, it should be mentioned, however, that precisely the question of who is addressed by Joshua is not quite as unequivocal in LAB as one would wish. It is in the English rendering, “Behold now, all you tribes” (20:3). Yet this is not a translation of the Latin text as it has come down to us, but is based on a text-critical conjecture of Jacobson. The Latin text actually reads: “Et ecce nunc vos omnes *duces*.” (60) To be sure, Jacobson has made a good case for an original כל השבטים having been corrupted to either שטרים or, more likely, שפטים. (61) Nonetheless, it deserves to be noted that precisely regarding the problem of who Joshua interacts with, the textual history testifies to considerable confusion. (62)

In any case, more important for our present discussion is the answer Joshua receives in LAB 20:5. According to Feldman, it “recast[s] the Transjordanians’ reply to [Joshua] (63), ‘be strong and resolute’, as the entire nation’s response,” (64) thus providing a parallel also to col. ii of our fragment. (65) While Feldman is of course right that here

(59) Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 67, 195.

(60) Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo’s Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, 29 (my italics).

(61) Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo’s Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, 662.

(62) See also the comment on LAB 20:5<sup>init</sup> “et dixerunt ad eum populi” in Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo’s Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, 666.

(63) Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 68 inadvertently reads “Moses” here.

(64) Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 68.

(65) Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 68, 195.

it is Israel as a whole that addresses Joshua, I remain more skeptical regarding the comparative value of LAB in this case. First of all, I hesitate whether, or to what extent, LAB 20:5 should be regarded as a rewritten version of Josh 1:16–18. On the one hand, the main point of contact with the biblical text is the phrase חֹזֶק וְאַמֶּץ, which is certainly not specific to Josh 1:16–18. On the other hand, one could refer to the notion of Joshua's authority being at stake, (66) which does resonate with the issue of the Transjordanian tribes. (67) But even if one accepts Josh 1:16–18 as the point of reference, it has to be admitted that LAB 20:5 is a rather distinct composition. This is most obvious in the theme brought up by the people, namely, the content of the prophecy of Eldad and Medad. This is a Midrash-type exposition of the fact, recorded in Num 11:26, *that* Eldad and Medad prophesied. (68) While it proves LAB 20:5 to be an interesting point of comparison for similar expositions found in rabbinic literature, (69) this feature also cautions not to overstate the case for an alleged common “exegetical tradition” (70) regarding the transformation of the Transjordanian tribes' answer into an address of all Israel.

These quibbles aside, Feldman has produced a strong argument by bringing LAB 20 to the fore. In my view, this comparison could be used most profitably to bolster the result of an immanent analysis of 4Q378 frg. 3.

The fifth argument to be assessed here is probably the strongest, and in any case it is fundamental for the interpretation of Dimant and Feldman, even though they do not explicitly invoke it as an argument for their case but rather presuppose it. That argument is the assumed correlation of the second-person speech found in col. i, which has been plausibly ascribed to Joshua by Dimant and Feldman, and the first-person plural speech found in col. ii. To quote Dimant, “The speech [preserved in col. ii] appears to be pronounced in response to Joshua's address in column i.” (71) It indeed appears to be—when it is read in the context that has been preserved. However, a caveat is in order here, too. As it stands, we know that the two discourses found in cols. i and

(66) As does Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, 668.

(67) See section 4 below.

(68) See Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, 666.

(69) See the references to Tg. Ps.-J., Sifre, and Tanh. in Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, 666.

(70) Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 195.

(71) Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 58.

ii are set in relative proximity to each other, as they are preserved on two subsequent columns. Furthermore, we know that the two passages of text that have come down to us were not immediately connected. As noted above, neither the bottom margin of col. i nor the top margin of col. ii have been preserved. What we do *not* know is how much text has been lost in between. Here, it should be borne in mind that of the twenty-nine fragments of 4Q378, there are only two with a top margin (frgs. 22 i and 27) and none with a bottom margin. That is to say, we would be hard-pressed to estimate the amount of lost text. It might well have been substantial.

Given this state of affairs, the correlation of the two speeches, which is fundamental for interpreting the latter as a response to the former, cannot be taken for granted. It is an assumption and needs to be handled as such. The assumption is certainly possible, and it allows for an appealing interpretation. Yet it cannot provide the basis for that interpretation.

At this point, an interim conclusion can be drawn. While the reasons given by Dimant and Feldman for their interpretation of 4Q378 frg. 3 ii are of varying validity, none of them is conclusive in my view. Nevertheless, this interpretation might still be correct. That is to say, it can neither be proven nor disproven that our fragment testifies to a reworking which turns the answer of the Transjordanian tribes into a speech of the people as a whole. If it were the case, this reworking should probably be accounted for as some sort of early exegesis responding to the exegetical problem inherent in the biblical base text. (72) One might even be tempted to cite this “exegesis” in support of the view that Josh 1:16–18 itself should in fact be construed as an address of all Israel, thus doing justice to the “all Israel” ideology it promotes. (73)

#### 4. An Alternative Interpretation

There is, however, yet another possibility, as the biblical base text also allows for an interpretation—in fact a more convincing one—according to which the answer recorded in Josh 1:16–18 comes from the Transjordanian tribes and at the same time accentuates the notion of “all Israel.” In other words, it can be demonstrated that this discourse, precisely as a pledge of allegiance by two and a half tribes, is also an affirmation of the unity of the people as a whole. (74)

(72) In this vein, see again Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 195.

(73) Cf. Feldman, *The Rewritten Joshua Scrolls from Qumran*, 67, note 239, citing Howard, “All Israel’s Response to Joshua.”

(74) As shown in Krause, *Exodus und Eisodus*, 122–124.



To expound this interpretation, we need to recall the context of Josh 1:16–18 as outlined above. (75) Immediately preceding our passage, there is Joshua's emphatic address (vv. 12–15) in which he requests the Transjordanian tribes to obey the pertinent command of Moses (Deut 3:18–20) also under his (Joshua's) new leadership, namely, to support their "brothers" in the conquest of the land west of the Jordan. Against the backdrop of the Deuteronomistic account in Deut 2–3, neither this support nor the acceptance of the new leader as *their* new leader is a matter of course for these tribes. Joshua is commissioned by YHWH to lead the people into the land west of the Jordan. But Reuben, Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh have already received their lands east of the Jordan. Notably, these lands have been conquered under the leadership of Moses, and they also have been allotted to the two and a half tribes by Moses. This fact is stressed repeatedly. Note, for example, the distinction made in Josh 12:6 // 12:7:

- 12:6 *Moses*, the servant of YHWH, and the Israelites defeated them [i.e., Sihon and Og, the kings who ruled the land conquered by Israel east of the Jordan]; and *Moses* the servant of YHWH gave their land for a possession to Reuben, Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh.
- 12:7 The following are the kings of the land whom *Joshua* and the Israelites defeated on the west side of the Jordan [...]—and *Joshua* gave their land to the tribes of Israel as a possession according to their allotments [...]

No less clear-cut, this distinction is also pronounced in the command of Moses quoted by Joshua. While the land both east and west of the Jordan is said to be given (נתן) by YHWH (Deut 3:18b, 20a, quoted in Josh 1:13b, 15a), when looking at the concrete circumstances of this gift, the wording is at pains to emphasize that the land east of the Jordan has been given (נתן) to the Transjordanian tribes by Moses (Deut 3:19b, 20b, quoted in Josh 1:14a, 15b). (76)

As a result, the Transjordanian tribes are no longer in a position in which they are dependent on Joshua. Rather, it is Joshua who is

(75) See section 2 above.

(76) Bieberstein, *Josua—Jordan—Jericho*, 92; Klaus Bieberstein, "Das Buch Josua und seine Horizonte," in *Das deuteronomistische Geschichtswerk*, ed. Hermann-Josef Stipp, ÖBS 39 (Frankfurt: Lang, 2011), 151–176, here 164. To be sure, LXX Josh 1:14a seems to avoid this notion. However, in light of the carefully crafted wording of the passage and especially the parallel with Deut 3:18–20, it does not commend itself to try and reconstruct a more pristine Hebrew version in this instance. For a full discussion and further literature, see Bieberstein, *Josua—Jordan—Jericho*, 91–92 with note 51 and van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 232–239.

dependent on them. (77) In any case, the requested support in the conquest west of the Jordan has been agreed upon between these tribes and Moses. Therefore, it is much more than a nice rhetorical move when Joshua quotes his predecessor's command. The word of Moses, which Joshua reiterates without any substantial addition of his own, is in fact the only argument he has. When giving orders for crossing the Jordan, as in Josh 1:11–12, Joshua does so by virtue of his own authority; when requesting the Transjordanian tribes to join this trek, he can only rely on the authority of his deceased predecessor. (78) In employing Moses' command for his own cause, however, Joshua now claims for himself the same all-encompassing authority formerly enjoyed by Moses.

Thus, in the case of the Transjordanian tribes, the acceptance of Joshua as the new leader and the unity of "all Israel" are two sides of the same coin; and both are called into question in light of the imminent conquest of the land west of the Jordan. Whether or not that conquest will be an operation of "all Israel" depends on the willingness of Reuben, Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh to obey the command of Moses under the new leadership of Joshua. Both issues, the authority of Joshua and the unity of Israel, are resolved in Josh 1:16–18—if read as the response of the Transjordanian tribes. By virtue of their pledge to Joshua, "Just as we obeyed Moses in all things, so we will obey you" (v. 17a), Joshua is accepted as the new leader of *all* Israel, Trans- and Cisjordanian tribes alike; and this, by extension, guarantees that the Cisjordanian conquest will indeed be on operation of all twelve tribes. (79) In short, precisely as a pledge of allegiance of the two and a half tribes, the discourse in question is an affirmation of the unity of the people as a whole.

In light of this fresh reading of the biblical base text, the very same interpretation is also applicable to its reworked version as found on 4Q378 frg. 3 ii. Considering the vital importance of the Transjordanian tribes for the succession of Moses by Joshua as outlined above, it is possible and indeed plausible to reckon with them in the rewritten version of the succession account as well. According to this interpretation, the incompletely preserved discourse should indeed be construed as a response to Joshua, pronounced however by Reuben, Gad and the half-tribe of Manasseh.

(77) Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua und Salomo*, 207.

(78) Schäfer-Lichtenberger, *Josua und Salomo*, 206–207.

(79) For the context and background of this interpretation, that is, for the Transjordanian tribes as an essential topic of the Deuteronomistic account of the Cisjordanian conquest, see again Krause, *Exodus und Eisodus*, 126–131.

Indicative of this alternative interpretation is also an issue which has been noted by Newsom but has not received much attention in the subsequent discussion. In view of ll. 10–11 and their unmistakable affinity with Joshua’s commissioning as new leader (see especially Deut 31:7–8 and Josh 1:5b–6), she rightly remarked that if these lines are understood as part of an address of the people as a whole to Joshua, one has to assume that “the relationship between the people and their leader is construed very differently than in the biblical text.” (80) As astutely observed by Newsom, in the plot of Joshua’s commissioning for the Cisjordanian conquest, which according to Deut 3:28, 31:7–8, and Josh 1:5b–6 is initiated by YHWH, carried out by Moses, and finally confirmed by YHWH, there is no place for such an active role of the people as a whole. In her own approach, Newsom sought to avoid this rather difficult assumption by suggesting a change of speaker “somewhere” in ll. 5–8, ll. 10–11 presenting Joshua as he himself “recalls the words of his commission and encouragement by Moses.” (81) At any rate, this would account for the preposition in l. 8. But in view of the content of ll. 10–11, I concur with Dimant that these words are unlikely in a speech by Joshua himself. (82)

Thus, the problem of how to account for the unexpected relationship between the subject of the discourse and Joshua remains, and it challenges the interpretation proposed by Dimant and Feldman. By contrast, the problem may be readily resolved once one reckons with the possibility that it is the two and a half Transjordanian tribes who address these solemn words to Joshua. For them, as distinct from the people as a whole, it is by no means self-evident that they should accept the authority of the new leader, still less that they, having conquered and taken their lands already, should participate in the imminent conquest on the far side of the Jordan. From them, one can and indeed should expect an address of this kind on the east bank of the Jordan.

## 5. Conclusion

To conclude, there are two main options for interpreting the piece of “rewritten Bible” found on 4Q378 frg. 3 ii. The first-person plural speech which is preserved in part in this column may be read either as a discourse of the people as a whole or as coming from the two and

(80) Newsom, “4QApocryphon of Joshua,” 246.

(81) Newsom, “4QApocryphon of Joshua,” 245–246.

(82) Dimant, “Two Discourses from the Apocryphon of Joshua and Their Context (4Q378 3 i–ii),” 57. See also Newsom’s comment on l. 9, which points out a further difficulty of her own suggestion: Newsom, “4QApocryphon of Joshua,” 246.

a half Transjordanian tribes. Due to the highly fragmentary state of preservation, neither of these options can be ruled out. However, a fresh reading of the biblical base text may indicate that the latter option is the more likely one.

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# THE *YAHAD* AS THE LOCUS OF DIVINE PRESENCE: ON 4QFLORILEGIUM'S DIVINATORY HERMENEUTICS\*

## *Summary*

The current paper offers a fresh analysis of the hermeneutics of 4Q174 (Florilegium). There is no satisfactory consensus on the organizing principle that holds the document together as a coherent whole, or whether there is an organizing principle. The oft-cited view that the theme is eschatology or “the latter days” (אַחֲרֵי הַיָּמִים) is not satisfactory, for it is too broad to have interpretive value. A reevaluation of 4QFlor is needed. Beginning with the initial unit of 4QFlor I 1–13, I make the case that the polemical interpretive enterprise revolves around the authenticating presence of God in the *yahad* in the unfolding eschatological drama, and that the creative contribution of 4QFlor is its defense of the *yahad* as the locus of divine presence. 4QFlor stems from reflection on the *yahad*'s typologically-exilic experience and gives witness to the *yahad*'s polemic against the Jerusalem temple cult. The interpretive approach is functionally divinatory and formally deictic.

CENTRALLY important in the study of scriptural interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls are the pesharim—eschatologically-oriented, atomizing commentaries on prophetic writings that unveil formerly-concealed mysteries and that often offer interpretations which pertain to the *yahad*'s own polemical history, at least the history which the various pesharists (re)construct. (1) Early research on the

\* I would like to thank John Collins, James Nati, and the anonymous reviewers at *Revue de Qumrân* for their feedback on earlier versions of this article.

(1) See Shani Berrin, “Qumran Pesharim,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. Matthias Henze, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 110–133. Berrin defines peshar as “a form of biblical interpretation peculiar to Qumran, in which biblical poetic/prophetic texts are applied to postbiblical historical/eschatological settings through various literary techniques in order to substantiate a theological conviction pertaining

pesharim often operated with an oppositional binary between “interpretation” and “revelation,” (2) yet the line between these two has proven to be overdrawn. Although conceptually distinct, one does not preclude the other. Alex Jassen’s terminology of “revelatory exegesis” captures this nicely. (3) The interpretation–revelation binary is closely connected to the question of the context of the pesharim: are they closer to Hellenistic commentary traditions, (4) as seen particularly in Alexandrian *hypomnemata* on Homer’s epics, or to ancient Near Eastern commentary traditions, (5) as seen particularly in Mesopotamian dream and

to divine reward and punishment,” 110. Cf. Robert Willimason Jr., “Peshar: A Cognitive Model of the Genre,” *DSD* 17 (2010): 307–331. Williamson defines peshar thus: “Peshar is a genre of biblical interpretation in which the prophetic passages of the Bible are viewed as mysteries of God concerning history contemporary to the author of the peshar; as such, the biblical text is understood to be properly interpreted only by one specially endowed by God to unravel (פֶּשֶׁר) its meaning. This interpretation, so understood, consists of a *Gestalt* structure in which: (1) the scriptural citation is linked to (2) a contemporary referent by means of (3) an interpretation understood as an ‘unraveling’ of ‘mysteries,’ generally (though not always) introduced by the technical term פֶּשֶׁר,” 723; Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*, CBQMS 8 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 229–259. I here retain the concept of atomization as articulated by Elliger, despite recent attempts to refute (Hartog) and nuance (Berrin) his claim. Karl Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer*, BHT 15 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953), 139–142; Pieter B. Hartog, *Peshar and Hypomnema: A Comparison of Two Commentary Traditions from the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, STDJ 121 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 256–269; Berrin, “Qumran Pesharim,” 128–129. Cf. Alex P. Jassen, “The Pesharim and the Rise of Commentary in Early Jewish Scriptural Interpretation,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 363–398, who retains “atomization,” as articulated by Elliger, in his account of the pesharim (378).

(2) The former view finds a classical articulation in William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Peshar of Habakkuk* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), and the latter in Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar*.

(3) Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism*, STDJ 68 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 343–362. See also John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010). Collins writes: “The claim that ... things were revealed is not incompatible with the idea that they were derived from scripture by interpretation,” 28.

(4) Markus Bockmuehl, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of Biblical Commentary,” in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity*, ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz, STDJ 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 3–29; Hartog, *Peshar and Hypomnema*.

(5) Uri Gabbay, “Akkadian Commentaries from Ancient Mesopotamia and Their Relation to Early Hebrew Exegesis,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 267–312; Martti Nissinen, “Pesharim as Divination,” in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy*, ed. Kristin de Troyer, Armin Lange, and Lucas L. Schulte, CBET 52 (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 43–60.

oracle interpretations? (6) As with the former binary, however, influence from or similarity with one tradition does not necessarily preclude influence from or similarity with the other. More recent scholarship on the pesharim has aimed to demonstrate that the pesharists were textual interpreters who maintained a diachronic consciousness and thus an understanding of the text's past historical meaning, despite focusing on the prophetic "fulfillment" or "application" in their own times. (7) The debate, however, is far from settled.

Against this background, the current paper offers an analysis of the hermeneutics of 4Q174, to which I will hereafter refer as 4QFlor. Various considered "an eschatological midrash," "a midrash on 2 Samuel and Psalms 1–2," and "a Florilegium," the exceptional nature of the document is seen both in its form and its content. (8) First, in terms of its form, 4QFlor stands out for its *thematic* interpretation of passages from multiple scriptural witnesses. This stands in contrast to both the continuous pesharim and the continuous "rewritten scriptures." (9) It

(6) Note that both of these options can and perhaps ought to be further nuanced; with respect to the Hellenistic option, the influence could be indirect via Alexandrian Jews, and with respect to the Mesopotamian option, the influence could similarly be indirect via Jewish Aramaic apocalyptic traditions (esp. as evinced in dream interpretation in the Aramaic portions of Daniel). On the former, see Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema*, 291–296; on the latter, see Daniel A. Machiela, "The Qumran Pesharim as Biblical Commentaries: Historical Context and Lines of Development," *DSD* 19 (2012): 313–362, esp. 336–343, 358; Jassen, "The Pesharim and the Rise of Commentary," 389–398. Further, on the diversity of Alexandrian Jewish responses to and engagements with the broader and largely-Homeric Alexandrian commentary culture, see Maren R. Niehoff, *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Cf. Steven D. Fraade, "Early Rabbinic Midrash Between Philo and Qumran," in *Strength to Strength: Essays in Appreciation of Shaye J.D. Cohen*, ed. Michael L. Satlow (Providence: Brown Judaic Studies, 2018), 281–293. Fraade argues that in early tannaitic midrash halakhah "'diverse voices' are enabled to converse with one another (as with the presumed midrashic student or auditor), in forms and manners that can be presumed in some cases to be 'borrowed'—from both ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman cultures of commentary—while in others to have been transformed, and yet in others to be rabbinically 'original,'" 292.

(7) Thus, e.g., Berrin, "Qumran Pesharim," 132; George Brooke, "Genre Theory, Rewritten Bible and Pesher," *DSD* 17 (2010): 361–386, esp. 373–374; Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema*, 240.

(8) On the naming of 4Q174, see George J. Brooke, "From Florilegium or Midrash to Commentary: The Problem of Re-naming an Adopted Manuscript," in *The Mermaid and the Partridge: Essays from the Copenhagen Conference Revising Texts from Cave Four*, ed. George J. Brooke and Jesper Høgenhaven, STDJ 96 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 129–150.

(9) The well-known problems associated with the category of "rewritten scripture" (and "rewritten Bible") need not detain us here, given that they are not immediately relevant to my thesis on 4QFlor. Nevertheless, the underlying questions which have contributed to the problematization of the category are analogically relevant, particularly



is one of two thematic pesharim from Qumran, the other being 11QMelchizedek. (10) Second, in terms of its content, 4QFlor stands out—although here not without parallels in the corpus—by the way in which it intertwines communal and individual interpretation for eschatological purposes, referring to messianic figures without using משיח and referring to the community as משיחו. (11) Nevertheless,

those concerning textual pluriformity in early Judaism, the notions of “Canon,” “Bible,” and “scripture,” as well as the means by which one participates in, interprets, reworks, supplements, or even perhaps supplants anterior religious writings. For a helpful array of perspectives and critical engagements, see *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes*, ed. József Zsengellér, JSJSup 166 (Leiden: Brill, 2014). See also Molly M. Zahn, “Genre and Rewritten Scripture: A Reassessment,” *JBL* 131 (2012): 271–288; Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008); Michael Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. Matthias Henze, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 10–28.

(10) 4Q177 may also constitute a thematic pesher. Timothy Lim, *Pesharim*, CQS 3 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 16–18. Cf. Annette Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat<sup>ab</sup>): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 (“Florilegium”) und 4Q177 (“Catena A”) repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden*, STDJ 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1994). Steudel has argued that 4Q174 and 4Q177 are to be seen as part of the same composition; nevertheless, there are no overlaps between the two manuscripts, as noted by reviewers such as Brooke and Bockmuehl. George J. Brooke, review of *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat<sup>ab</sup>)*, STDJ 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), by Annette Steudel, *JSJ* 26 (1995): 380–384; Markus Bockmuehl, review of *ibid.*, *VT* 45 (1995): 429–430. I do not follow Steudel.

(11) 4QFlor I 10–12, 18–19. Although it is possible that there is a presumed dual-reference and polyvalence underlying this interpretation—i.e. the presumption of a messianic interpretation which here receives a communal overlay—such is not borne out by the text itself. Nevertheless, for an instance of multiple interpretations of a single scriptural referent, see 1QpHab I 16 - II 10, in which the author(s) appear(s) to provide three categories of בוגרים. (Note that the scriptural citation corresponds to the LXX’s οἱ καταφρονῆται against the MT’s בוגרים). On this, see Matthias Weigold, “Ancient Jewish Commentaries in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Multiple Interpretations as a Distinctive Feature?” in *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Nóra Dávid et al., FRLANT 239 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 281–294; John J. Collins, “Prophecy and History in the Pesharim,” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Mladen Popović, JSJSup 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 209–226. However, some (e.g. Eshel [on historical grounds] and, recently, Brown-deVost [on form-critical grounds] and Hartog [with respect to eschatology]) have explained this as a matter of accretion, revealing multiple stages of composition. Hanan Eshel, “The Two Historical Layers of Pesher Habakkuk,” in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003–2006*, ed. Anders Klostergaard Petersen et al., STDJ 80 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 107–117; Bronson Brown-deVost, “The Compositional Development of Qumran Pesharim,” *JBL* 135 (2016): 525–541, esp. 534–540; Pieter B. Hartog, “‘The Final Priests of Jerusalem’ and ‘The Mouth of

there is no consensus on the main or directive idea that holds the document together as a coherent whole. (12) The oft-cited view that the theme is eschatology itself or the *אחרית הימים*—while undoubtedly accurate in a superficial sense—is not satisfactory, (13) for it is too broad to have interpretive value. (14) In fact, it could be applied to most, if not all of the pesharim given their thoroughgoing eschatological perspective. (15)

Before the organizing principle of 4QFlor as a whole can be ascertained, the organizing principles of its individual units need to be identified. (16) Thus, in what follows, I make a case for the organizing principle of what has traditionally been reconstructed as 4QFlor's first individual unit, I 1–13. (17) Through a sustained detailed analysis of

the Priest': Eschatology and Literary History in Peshar Habakkuk," *DSD* 24 (2017): 1–22. For the argument for polyvalence in the pesharim, see Berrin, "Qumran Pesharim," 132, who has been followed by Nissinen, "Pesharim as Divination," 54; Jutta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement*, STDJ 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 121–122; and Hartog, *Peshar and Hypomnema*, 240. Further research is needed on this topic.

(12) I borrow the language of "directive idea" from David T. Runia, "Further Observations on the Structure of Philo's Allegorical Treatises," *VC* 41 (1987): 105–138.

(13) Thus, e.g., George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context*, JSOTSup 29 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 143–144. Cf. Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 211–12.

(14) Further, the "eschatology" envisioned is itself debated, as noted by John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: Messianism in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 113–119. Collins writes: "The eschatological expectations of the Florilegium have been much debated, and no consensus has been reached," 115.

(15) Gabbay, "Akkadian Commentaries," highlights the important element of the textuality of the messages on which the pesharists comment. He writes: "The pesharim are not only interpretations of ominous messages: they are interpretations of such messages in the guise of texts, and the interpretations follow the sequence of the text in continuous pesharim, or are arranged according to subject of texts in the thematic pesharim," 302. I agree with the emphasis on the textuality of the anterior "ominous messages;" nevertheless, Gabbay's portrayal of thematic pesharim as being "arranged according to the subject" or according to the thematic arrangement of the texts on which the pesharists comment runs the risk of diminishing the active and constructive role of the pesharist in imagining a theme which itself unites multiple texts.

(16) Cf. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, who writes: "form and content both show that 1:1–13 requires treatment apart from 1:14–2:6," 129. He later writes: "It is far from certain how at least the first two units, 1:1–13 and 1:14–2:6(?), are related to one another," 161.

(17) I follow the textual reconstruction of Jacob Milgrom, "Florilegium: A Midrash on 2 Samuel and Psalms 1–2 (4Q174 = 4QFlor)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 6b, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, PTS DSS (Tübingen:

the quotations of and allusions to scriptural writings in 4QFlor I 1–13, I argue that the unit’s polemical interpretive enterprise revolves around the authenticating presence of God in the *yahad* in the unfolding eschatological drama. The creative contribution of 4QFlor here is its defense of the *yahad* as the locus of divine presence. (18) 4QFlor stems from reflection on the *yahad*’s typologically-exilic experience and thus gives witness to the *yahad*’s polemic against the Jerusalem temple cult. (19) Insofar as I 1–13 is constitutive of 4QFlor as a whole, I argue that 4QFlor does not simply provide מדרש באחרית הימים, but rather a divinatory defense of the divine presence באחרית הימים. (20)

Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 248–262, unless otherwise noted. Cf. Steudel, *Der Midrasch*. Steudel’s alternative proposal in which (what I am calling) 4QFlor I 1–13 is actually reconstructed as column 3 does not have immediate bearing on my proposal, given that the present paper constitutes an analysis of the coherence of the individual unit, rather than the whole composition.

(18) I use *yahad* throughout to refer to the favored community in view in 4QFlor. This is justified on the basis of the reference to the “council of the *yahad*” (לעצת היחד) in I 17, as well as on the basis of 4QFlor’s use of terminology (and ideology) closely related to the *yahad*, such as “sons of Zadok” (בני צדוק), “sons of Belial” (בני בליעל), and “sons of light” (בני אור). Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that the *yahad*, as Collins has argued, “cannot be identified simply with one settlement in the wilderness, ‘the Qumran community’.” John J. Collins, “Beyond the Qumran Community: Social Organization in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 16 (2009): 351–369 (358); *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 52–87. See also Torleif Elgvin, “The *Yahad* Is More Than Qumran,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 273–279; Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule*, STDJ 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), esp. 21–67. Further, Carmen Palmer, *Converts in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Gēr and Mutable Ethnicity*, STDJ 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 85–86, has suggested a closer relationship to the *Serekh* traditions than to D for 4QFlor on the basis of not only the reference to “the council of the community,” but also on the basis of the presentation of the *gēr* in each. Palmer writes, “While indeed the *gēr* is ranked last in CD XIV, he is still included, nevertheless. CD and 4Q174 seem to be in contradiction on that matter. And finally, the fact that 4Q174 also contains a reference לעצת היחד (‘to the Council of the Community’) in Frag. 1, I, 17, suggests a closer relationship to the S tradition of the sectarian movement, rather than the group behind the D manuscripts,” 86. Nevertheless, cf. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 206–209, on points of contact between CD and 4QFlor. Further research on 4QFlor’s connections to S and D and the bearing of these connections on its relationship to these traditions is a desideratum. For now, on the literary and interpretive grounds presented below, comparative material from both CD and IQS is pursued and presented.

(19) Cf. Hindy Najman, “Towards a Study of the Uses of the Concept of Wilderness in Ancient Judaism,” *DSD* 13 (2006): 99–113.

(20) It is important to note that—as stated above—the present study is a building block to a fuller understanding of the composition as a whole. It is certainly possible that the other columns operate with different interpretive principles, especially in light of the use of מדרש and פשר—interpretive terms absent from I 1–13—with reference to Psalms 1 and 2. These are topics for future research.

**4QFlorilegium I 1–13: Interpretation of 2 Samuel 7 (21)**

The first thirteen lines of column one—reconstructed from fragments 1, 2, and 21—contain a continuous interpretation of 2 Sam 7:10b–14a. In these lines, there are three explicit primary citations, two of which are bolstered by explicit subordinate citations. The beginning of 4QFlor is missing, so column one begins abruptly in mid-sentence. Nevertheless, apart from the lost beginning, a missing portion of line four, and a *vacat* at the conclusion of line nine where we would expect an introduction to the final citation of 2 Sam 7, our text is fairly secure. (22)

This first section is comprised of two subsections—lines 1–9 and 10–13. (23) The primary component of 4QFlor I 1–9 is an interpretation of 2 Sam 7:10b–11 in the form of an identification of the **מָקוֹם** that YHWH will establish for Israel as the **בֵּית** which he will build **בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים**, and the primary component of I 10–13 is an interpretation of 2 Sam 7:11c, 12b, and 13b–14a in the form of an identification of the **בֵּית** which YHWH will build for David as the **צֶמַח דָּוִיד** who will arise **בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים** with the **דּוֹרֵשׁ הַתּוֹרָה**. (24) The former is bolstered by a subordinate citation of Exod 15:17b–18 and the latter by a subordinate citation of Amos 9:11a; both subordinate citations are introduced by the formula, **כֹּאשֶׁר כָּתוּב**. (25) Further, the two sections

(21) All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

(22) Similarly, Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, writes: “Dies ist die besterhaltene Kolumne des Werkes. Gebildet wird sie aus den Frg. 1, 21, und 2. Der Text von Kol. III läßt sich mit Hilfe von Schriftzitaten beziehungsweise in den Lücken zu erwartenden Formulierungsnähezu vollständig erschließen,” 41.

(23) I thus follow Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 130–139, in seeing the citation of 2 Sam 7:11b in line 7b as subordinate to the citation of 2 Sam 7:10b–11 in lines 1–2.

(24) The interpretations offered are thus deictic. As is common in the *pescharim*, they take the form of a nominal (or verbless) clause, in which an anaphoric pronominal lexeme, which refers back to the quoted text, is the subject and the contemporary referent is the predicate.

(25) On the citation formulas used in interpretive writings from Qumran, see C.D. Elledge, “Appendix: A Graphic Index of Citation and Commentary Formulae in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 6b, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, PTSDSS (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 367–377. 4QFlor thus bears a level of formal and structural resemblance to Philo’s procedure of lemmatic interpretation in the Allegorical Commentary, wherein he creates a hierarchy of primary, secondary, and even tertiary lemmata, which he strings together by means of both catchwords and thematic associations. On Philo’s method in the Allegorical Commentary—which itself is distinct from his method in Questions and Answers in Genesis and Exodus and the Exposition of the Law—see David T. Runia, “The Structure of Philo’s Allegorical Treatises: A Review of Two Recent Studies and Some Additional Comments,” VC 38 (1984): 209–256; “Further Observations,” *passim*.

are linked by the citation of 2 Sam 7:11b, in which the divine gift of rest מכול אויביה is interpreted as the divine gift of rest מכול בני בליעל.

4QFlor I 1–7a: Locating the Divine Presence: מקדש בית qua מקום

Our first subsection concerns the place of the divine dwelling which God promises to build באחרית הימים. (26) Beginning with a quotation of 2 Sam 7:10b–11, 4QFlor I 1–2 reads: “And no enemy will disturb him any longer, and no son of injustice shall oppress him again, just as formerly, from the day that I sent judges over my people Israel” ולא ירגו ע[ו]ד אויב [ולוא יוסי] בן עולה [לענות] כאשר בראשונה ולמן היום (אשר [צויתי שופטים] על עמי ישראל). (27) The interpretation that follows, however, reveals that the citation must have originally been longer; it reads: “This is the house which he will build for him in the latter days” (הואה הבית אשר [יבנה] ל[וא] באחרית הימים). Since there is no plausible referent for “house” in the extant quoted text, the original quoted text likely included מקום from 2 Sam 7:10. (28) The author seems to be aware that there is a pun at play in 2 Sam 7, wherein David’s proposal to build a “house” (temple) for YHWH turns into YHWH’s oracle through Nathan to David that he will “appoint a place for Israel” and “build a house for David” (royal dynasty). Nevertheless,

(26) Steudel has presented the most detailed study of אחרית הימים; she writes: “In 4QMidrEschat wie in den anderen Qumrantexten auch ist אחרית הימים terminus technicus für die Letzte Zeitspanne einer periodisch verlaufenden Geschichte ... Die Heilszeit, die Zeit nach der אחרית הימים also, ist selten Gegenstand der Reflexion,” 161–163. See Annette Steudel, “אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran,” *RevQ* 16 (1993–1994): 225–246; *Der Midrasch*, 161–163. As Steudel has persuasively argued, אחרית הימים does not always refer to a future time period in the texts from Qumran and can in fact refer to a time period that has already begun; nevertheless, as I argue below, the instances—i.e. to the מקדש יהוה in I 2–3 and to the messianic figures in I 11–12—do appear straightforwardly future in 4QFlor I 1–13. However, this does not stop the interpreter from constructing relative degrees of continuity between the present and the future. Cf. also Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 166, in which she writes: “Darüber, wie das Verhältnis der Gemeinde zu einem zukünftigen Tempel tatsächlich vorgestellt worden ist, läßt sich ihm Text selbst nur schwer Konkretes festmachen.”

(27) 4QFlor I 1–2. Note that neither the MT or LXX give witness to אויב. Further, the reading of בן עולה agrees with the LXX’s τὸς ἀδικίας against the MT’s בני עולה.

(28) Thus, Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, follows Puech in reconstructing 2 Sam 7:10 in the preceding two lines (which, for her, are lines 18–19 of column 2). As she explains, “Diese Zeilen sind mit É. Puech ergänzt. Z. 19 beinhaltete sicher den Beginn von 2 Sam 7,10; der von É. Puech ergänzte Zeilenanfang ist zwar hypothetisch, doch entspricht er formal dem zu Erwartenden und füllt gut den zur Verfügung stehenden Platz,” 41. Similarly, Devorah Dimant, “4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple,” in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky*, ed. Andre Caquot, Mireille Hadas-Lebel, and Jean Riaud (Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 165–189 (172–173).

4QFlor's usage does not match 2 Samuel's usage. (29) Whereas in 2 Samuel, the first instance of "house" refers to the temple David proposes to build for YHWH, here the house refers to the temple YHWH promises to build for the *yahad*. (30) Brooke argues that "it is the initiative of Yahweh that is the salient characteristic" of this first interpretation; (31) nevertheless, by identifying the "place" as the "house" which YHWH will build—an interpretive move that distances 4QFlor from the original sense of 2 Sam 7—the author seems also to highlight the nature of this place as a *dwelling* place.

The text immediately continues with a subordinate quotation of Exod 15:17b–18: "As it is written in the book of Moses, 'The sanctuary of YHWH, which your hands have established. YHWH will be the king unto the ages'" (משה מקדש] יהוה כוננו ידיכה יהוה ימלוך). (32) The author likely brings this verse into connection with 2 Sam 7:10–11 on the basis of their shared reference to divine planting (נטע), thus bearing witness to the principle of *gezerah shava*. (33) The

(29) See the discussion in Eric F. Mason, "Interpretation of Psalm 2 in 4QFlorilegium and in the New Testament," in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, STDJ 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 67–82, esp. 74–75.

(30) The pronominal object of לוא (הואה הבית אשר יבנה לוא) refers back to 2 Sam 7:10 (ושמתי מקום לעמי לישראל ונטעתיו ושכן תחתיו), and "my people Israel" in 2 Sam 7:10 is understood as the *yahad*. Similarly, Dimant, "The Idea of the Community," writes: "... 'my people Israel' stands for the sect," 181. Cf. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 130.

(31) Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 134.

(32) With the exception of the *plene* orthography, the only difference between our text and the MT is the latter's use of אדני in 15:17b. Note, however, that, the preceding poetic clause in the MT has יהוה. Cf. the description of the temple—whether eschatological or reformist—in 11QT<sup>a</sup> XXIX. Note also that the LXX translator read the divine name in the vocative (thus κύριε). 4QFlor's interpretation of Exod 15:17b–18 can be fruitfully contrasted with Philo's in *Plant.* 46–58—both conceptually and methodologically. Among other things, it reveals Philo's universalizing hermeneutics, which stands in stark contrast to 4QFlor's particularizing hermeneutics.

(33) Similarly, Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 134. Note also that Exod 15:17 refers to the divine dwelling place as מכון, which provides a further lexical link. *Contra* Michael O. Wise, "4QFlorilegium and the Temple of Adam," *RevQ* 15 (1991): 103–132, who argues that the *gezerah shava* found herein is the movement from a verse with מקום to a verse with מקדש. On *gezerah shava* at Qumran, see Moshe J. Bernstein and Shlomo A. Koyfman, "The Interpretation of Biblical Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Forms and Methods," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 61–87 (84–86). Cf. Friedrich Avemarie, "Interpreting Scripture Through Scripture: Exegesis Based on Lexematic Association in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Pauline Epistles," in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, STDJ 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 83–102. Avemarie—I think unpersuasively—argues that we should not use the phrase *gezerah shava* with reference to pre-Rabbinic literature. He instead prefers "lexematic association." Despite the radically



immediate and primary contribution which the subordinate citation makes to the interpretation of 2 Sam 7:10–11 is that the temple promised therein does not refer to the past Solomonic temple, but rather to a future temple to be built by YHWH himself. 4QFlor thus gives witness to one of the fountainheads of ancient Jewish hermeneutics: reinterpretation arising from delayed or inapparent fulfillment. (34) Nevertheless, this much (מקדש = בית) is provided by the first half of the subordinate quotation, leaving us to wonder why 4QFlor includes the words of the second-half of the subordinate citation (יהוה ימלוך עולם) (ועד). (35)

Given that the author is intentionally selective in his citations, (36) further consideration is warranted. Although it is possible that the author simply read this as the necessary continuation of Exod 15:17b, attention to the extended interpretation which follows reveals that it is included because it refers to the reign of YHWH *among* his people—the *yahad*. The general principle of YHWH's reign is spatialized and applied to the community itself. The initial description of the “house”—which here serves as the identification of מקדש—has two parts: an account of who will and who will not reside there. On the one hand, “no Ammonite, Moabite, bastard, foreigner, or proselyte shall enter.” (37) This list is partially dependent upon Deut 23:3–4, wherein Ammonites, Moabites, and *mamzerim* are prohibited from entering the קהל יהוה, (38)

different interpretation provided, it is interesting to note that Philo also bears witness to *gezera shava* by utilizing Exod 15:17 as a subordinate scriptural lemma on the same basis of references to divine planting ((κατα)φύτεύω) in *Plant.* 47–58.

(34) Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 444.

(35) Exod 15:18. Cf. 4Q169 1–2 i 5, which interprets the drying up of the sea in Nah 1:4 as the temporality of the rulership of the Kittim (אשר תתם ממשלתם).

(36) Wise, “Temple of Adam,” 119; Eva Mroczek, “How Not to Build a Temple: Jacob, David, and the Unbuilt Ideal in Ancient Judaism,” *JSJ* 46 (2015): 512–546, esp. 539; Dimant, “The Idea of the Community,” 184. See also Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 188. Central here is the author's omission of 2 Sam 7:13a (as well as the phrase, אשר יצא ממעיך, in 7:12). This is not to be confused as a parallel with the Alexandrian (esp. Aristarchian) practice of *athetesis*, of which Alexandrian Jews such as Aristobulus were aware; it is simply evidence that the author did not aim for a comprehensive interpretation of the running scriptural text of 2 Sam 7:10–14.

(37) 4QFlor I 4.

(38) Note the exclusion of proselytes from the middle-court of the Temple in 11QT<sup>a</sup> XXXIX 5–11. See Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Exclusion of ‘Netinim’ and Proselytes in 4QFlorilegium,” *RevQ* 8 (1972): 87–96. Baumgarten argues that the prohibition is not for entry into the sanctuary itself but into the inner-assembly, the קהל. Nevertheless, the text does not use קהל. On 4QFlor's prohibition as relatively continuous with rabbinic halakhah, see Gerald Blidstein, “4QFlorilegium and Rabbinic Sources on Bastard and Proselyte,” *RevQ* 8 (1974): 431–435. Cf. also Josephus, *Ant.* 19.332, discussed by Joseph M. Baumgarten, “Exclusions from the Temple: Proselytes and



and, for the ban against the “foreigner” (בן נכר), it is dependent upon Ezek 44:6–9, which reads: “Thus says the Lord God: ‘No foreigner (בן נכר), uncircumcised in heart or in flesh, shall enter my sanctuary, no foreigner who is in the midst of the sons of Israel’” (בתוך בני ישראל). (39) On the other hand—and this is the reason for the prohibition—“his holy ones are there, his glory shall be revealed forever and shall appear over it [i.e. the house] perpetually.” (40) The ground for the exclusion is the divine presence—though here the presence of YHWH is mediated through his “holy ones” (i.e. angels) and described according to the tradition of Ezekiel in terms of the divine glory (כבוד). (41)

Agrippa I,” *JJS* 33 (1982): 215–225. *Contra* Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*—who writes that “Since neither Deut 23:3–4 nor adjacent texts refer to the ‘sanctuary’ or the ‘house,’ it is reasonable to suppose that the allusion is made through a parent text, an example of the use of the principle of *binyan ‘ab*” (136)—the interpreter has both “house” and “sanctuary” at his disposal given their presence in 2 Sam 7 and Exod 15. Note that the exclusions of Ammonites and Moabites finds a comparison in the Deuteronomic critique of Solomon in 1 Kings 11 (with a particular emphasis on intermarriage), who himself commits the sins characteristic of the period of the Judges. 4QMMT interprets Deut 23:2–4 similarly; however, there the focus is intermarriage, unlike 4QFlor. See Hannah K. Harrington, “Keeping Outsiders Out: Impurity at Qumran,” in *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the 10QS in Groningen*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Mladen Popović, STDJ 70 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 187–203. Cf. Christine E. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Intermarriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), esp. 61–65.

(39) Thus, the exclusion of the *gēr* does not seem to derive from the scriptural sources. See Palmer, *Converts*, 119–121; Terence Donaldson, *Judaism and the Gentiles: Jewish Patterns of Universalism (to 135 CE)* (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2007), 212–215.

(40) 4QFlor I 4, trans. Milgrom. Cf. Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 43. Cf. also 1QM VII 5–6; 1QS XI 7–9; 1QSa II 3–9: כִּי־אֵל מְלָאכִי קֹדֶשׁ [בְּעֵד] תָּם (8–9). On “holy ones” in the texts from Qumran, see John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel, Hermeneia* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 313–317. Collins writes: “In summary ... the holy ones in the sectarian literature of Qumran are normally angels or heavenly beings. Confusion arises because the human community is believed to mingle with the heavenly host in the eschatological war, in the cult, and in the community itself, and can be called the people of the holy ones. There is no undisputed case in this literature, however, where the expression ‘holy ones’ in itself refers to human beings,” 316.

(41) *Contra* Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, who writes: “All that is certain concerning the exact meaning of all three reasons given for the exclusions is that this first description of the sanctuary is evidence for the general Qumran concern for purity,” 183. It is clear that a concern for purity characterizes 4QFlor, as I explore below; nevertheless, it is not merely purity *qua* purity, but purity as that which is demanded by divine presence. Cf. Jonathan Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and The Temple: Symbolism and Supersessionism in the Study of Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 111–174. Klawans writes: “In ancient Judaism, ritual purity is not an end in and of itself ... [it] remained for ancient Jews, first and foremost, the prerequisite

The aforementioned secondary allusion to Ezek 44 contributes more than just the ban against the foreigner; it also provides the view that the divine presence *qua* כבוד provides the grounds for the ban: מלא כבוד יהוה את בית יהוה. (42)

Contextual considerations of both the primary passage of 2 Sam 7 and the secondary passage of Exod 15 provide support for this emphasis on divine presence. A key component of the frame of Nathan's oracle to David in 2 Sam 7 is Nathan's statement to David: "Do all that is in your heart, for YHWH is with you" (כל אשר בלבבך לך עשה) (כי יהוה עמך). (43) Although YHWH modifies the command, YHWH reiterates the latter half of what Nathan said to David: ואהיה עמך בכל. (44) Further, the immediately-preceding line of the quoted portion of the Song of Moses reads: "You brought them in and planted them in the mountain of your inheritance, the place which you made into *your own dwelling*, O YHWH" (תבאמו ותטעמו בהר נחלתך מכון) (לשבתיך פעלת יהוה). (45) In both passages, the sanctifying and authenticating divine presence is central. The author is thus seen to bring these passages together for the purpose of highlighting the divine dwelling among his people—which he then applies to the *yahad*, in contrast to the Solomonic temple or the Herodian temple in Jerusalem. (46) This is not to say that the interpreter has a contextual concern for an "original" message; rather, he has an awareness of the co-text, and he feels free to manipulate it for his own purposes and to

for encountering the sacred," 171. Cf. 1QS XI 5–8, wherein the author, having described the depths of hidden knowledge and wisdom which God has granted him to see, including a spring of glory (מעין כבוד), writes: "To those whom God has chosen he has given them [these] as an everlasting possession; and he has given them an inheritance in the lot of the holy ones" (בגורל קדושים). Translation (modified) from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume 1 (1Q1–4Q273)* (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 97.

(42) Ezek 44:4. In Ezekiel, this is a paraphrase of the earlier claim that "YHWH, the God of Israel, went into the temple" (יהוה אלהי ישראל בא בו). 4QFlor, in articulating the divine presence in terms of both mediation through the "holy ones" and divine "glory," conflates earlier, and likely competing traditions regarding how to articulate and conceive of the divine presence. See Michael B. Hundley, "Of God and Angels: Divine Messengers in Genesis and Exodus in Their Ancient Near Eastern Contexts," *JTS* 67 (2016): 1–22; *ibid.*, *Keeping Heaven on Earth: Safeguarding the Divine Presence in the Priestly Tabernacle*, FAT II 50 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 39–52. Cf. Exod 25:22; Deut 12:5–11.

(43) 2 Sam 7:3.

(44) *Ibid.* 7:9.

(45) Exod 15:17a.

(46) Cf. Johann Maier, "Temple," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 921–927.

bolster his interpretations by allusion to other scriptural passages (e.g. Ezek 44). (47)

The discourse surrounding YHWH's dwelling among his people—here conceived exclusively as the members of the *yahad*—is inextricably linked to notions of purity and holiness, (48) as in the biblical traditions. (49) Thus, to the aforementioned ban on entry into the sanctuary, itself grounded in the divine presence, the author adds: “And foreigners shall destroy it no more, as they formerly destroyed the sanctuary of Israel on account of their sin.” (50) 4QFlor's claim in the second clause is similar to the claim in 1QpHab IV 8: והרסום הכתיאים בהם בעוון היושבים בהם. (51) There the agents of destruction are הכתיאים, most likely referring to Pompey's invasion of Jerusalem in 63. (52) In

(47) Cf. Liora Goldman's findings on CD in “The Exegesis and Structure of Pesharim in the Damascus Document,” in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard G. Kratz, FAT II 35 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 193–202, esp. 199–200. Goldman concludes: “The *Damascus Document* links various biblical prophecies by means of their similar formulations or terms, and occasionally on the basis of their conceptual analogy. Through such a linkage the author displays a tendency to harmonize different prophetic discourses, aiming at a single exegetical purpose,” 200.

(48) Cf. Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 166–167.

(49) See Mark Smith, *Where the Gods Are: Spatial Dimensions of Anthropomorphism in the Biblical World*, AYBRL (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 36–41. On the nature of מקדש as a holy place, see Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), *passim*. On sacred space (cultic topography) at Qumran from both an archaeological and literary perspective, see Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran*, 105–133. Magness writes: “The plan of the temple as conceived of in the Temple Scrolls created a compound of concentric zones of holiness emanating from the Divine Presence in the center. As the holiness radiated outward, so the levels of purity progressed inward. The settlement at Qumran seems to have been laid out along similar lines,” 128–129. Nevertheless, cf. Aharon Shemesh, “The Holiness to the ‘Temple Scroll,’” *RevQ* 19 (2000): 369–382, esp. 381.

(50) 4QFlor I 5–6. Cf. 4Q385b 16 (4QapocrJer<sup>c</sup>).

(51) Cf. CD VI 16; XX 23.

(52) Cf. 1QpHab II 10–13; IX 3–7. Note, however, that the *kittim* do not refer exclusively to the Romans in ancient Jewish literature (e.g. 1 Macc 1:1; 1QM I). See Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 63–64. The most significant clue for identifying the Romans as the *kittim* in Habakkuk, however, is often taken to be the reference to “sacrificing to their standards” in 1QpHab VI 3–4. See James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 109–112. For the case that John Hyrcanus II is in view in 1QpHab IX 9–12, see Michael O. Wise, “Dating the Teacher of Righteousness and the Floruit of His Movement,” *JBL* 122 (2003): 53–87 (80); John J. Collins, “Reading for History in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 18 (2011): 295–315 (312–314); Kenneth Atkinson, “The Identification of the ‘Wicked Priest’ Reconsidered: The Case for Hyrcanus II,” in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, ed. Joel Baden et al., JSJSup 175 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 68–84 (80–81).

contrast, 4QFlor does not specify its referent. The implicit message, however, is the same: God has chosen to make his glory known and present among the people “perpetually” on account of their holy and pure fidelity, in contrast to those who forsook the covenant. (53) This is central to the implicit self-understanding—as can be seen, for instance, in the parallel in 1QpHab, wherein the pesharist provides an interpretation that aims to render the *yahad*’s experience of marginalization coherent based on their unique fidelity amidst trials, purity amidst unholiness, and revealed knowledge amidst ignorance of God’s will. (54) Whereas the trials of the Jerusalem temple cult come as punishments resulting from infidelity, the trials of the community *qua* קהל יהיה come as persecutions resulting from fidelity, for they constitute the בחרירי ישראל and שבי ישראל. (55) The author of 4QFlor thus projects promises made to all of Israel in the past into the *yahad*’s future; in particular, he here looks backward to the promise of a temple, bypasses the apparent historical fulfillment of the construction of that temple by Solomon—to say nothing of the Herodian temple—and looks forward to the future temple which is the divine gift for the *yahad*’s fidelity. The promise is thus proleptically yet partially realized in the communal life of the *yahad* in the present, and the future time envisioned is when YHWH will be ever-present to protect the community from oppressors on account of their holiness.

The final component of this first subsection is notoriously ambiguous and thus difficult to interpret with confidence. The text reads: ויואמר לבנות לוא מקדש אדם להיות מקטירים בוא לוא לפני מעשי תורה. The primary ambiguity concerns the meaning of מקדש אדם—whether it is to be understood as “a human sanctuary” or “a sanctuary of Adam,” (56)

(53) On breaking covenant, cf. Ezek 44:7.

(54) Cf. Eshel, “The Two Historical Layers of Peshar Habakkuk,” 107–117; Brown-deVost, “The Compositional Development of Qumran Pesharim,” 534–540; Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community*, 103–113. See also Michael O. Wise, “The Origins and History of the Teacher’s Movement,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 92–122. On the polemic of the insider-knowledge of hidden things and mysteries, which is central to the hermeneutical enterprise, see esp. CD III 10–14 and 1QpHab VII 4.

(55) CD IV 2–4; 4QFlor I 19. Note, however, that the former is semantically ambiguous, as it could refer to “the converts of Israel,” “the returnees of Israel,” or even “the captivity of Israel.” See Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the ‘Damascus Document’*, JSOTSup 25 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 93–94.

(56) Interpretations that favor the former can further be divided between “sanctuary among humans” and “a human-made sanctuary.” For the understanding of the construct as “among,” see Yigael Yadin, “A Midrash on 2 Sam vii and Ps. i–ii (4QFlorilegium),” *IEJ* 9 (1959): 95–98; for the understanding of the construct as

and whether it is to be identified with the past “sanctuary of Israel,” the future “sanctuary of YHWH,” or an interim arrangement—either the present community or a temporary (literal) temple. (57) In my estimation, the eschatological context of the passage and the *Urzeit–Endzeit* schema in certain writings from Qumran in which Adamic and Edenic imagery play a key role favor the latter reading, “a sanctuary of Adam.” (58) In particular, the reference to כבוד אדם in CD III 20 and to נחלת אדם in 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 1–10 iii 1–2 prove relevant. In the latter, those to whom נחלת אדם belongs are שבי המדבר, “the returnees of the wilderness who will live for one thousand generations in prosperity.” (59) Further, the pesharist of 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> offers this identification immediately

“human-made,” see J. M. Allegro and A. A. Anderson, *Qumran Cave 4.1 (4Q158–186)*, DJD 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 54. Cf. Yong-Han Chung, “The Temple of Men (מקדש אדם) in 4QFlorilegium (4Q174),” *Korean Journal of Christian Studies* 87 (2013): 59–79. Chung interprets מקדש אדם as “the interim temple made by God consisting of godly men,” 75. There is also an orthographic ambiguity: in the final word, should we reconstruct a *resh*, thus “works of Torah,” or a *dalath*, thus “works of thanksgiving?” I follow Milgrom and Dimant (“The Idea of the Community,” 169) in reading מעשי תורה. For the identification of a *dalath*, see Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 92; Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 44. See also George J. Brooke, “Florilegium,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 297–298. Although Brooke reconstructs a *dalath*, he writes that it is “probably a subtle play on the phrase ‘works of the Law (*ma’asei hatorah*).’” Further, either way one understands מקדש אדם, ויזאמר is also difficult to interpret, for the subject and the object are unclear, as well as the interpretive referent. One way of interpreting ויזאמר is that, rather than introducing an altogether new interpretation with a new referent, it continues the explanation of the secondary lemma—Exod 15:17b–18. The *waw* then signals a return to the exposition which had been deterred by the author’s polemical side comment in 5b–6a.

(57) For the case that it is to be identified with the past Solomonic Temple, see Daniel R. Schwartz, “The Three Temples of 4QFlorilegium,” *RevQ* 10 (1979): 83–91; for the case that it is to be identified with the future eschatological divine temple, see Wise, “4QFlorilegium and the Temple of Adam;” for the case that it is to be identified as an interim arrangement, see Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 116–117; cf. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 178–193.

(58) The most prominent case for the Adamic view is that of Michael O. Wise, “4QFlorilegium and the Temple of Adam,” 103–132. For a thorough survey of previous scholarship (pre-1990), see *ibid.* 108. Despite the ingenuity of Wise’s argument (and the compelling core of it), the intricacy and elaborateness of his argument, in my estimation, represent overinterpretation. For instance, instead of simply bringing מקדש אדם into continuity with the perspectives offered in CD III 20 (כבוד אדם) and 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 1–10 iii 1–2 (נחלת אדם), he imposes the totality of the textual context of each passage back onto 4QFlor, as if the author were alluding to the texts themselves (and their contexts) rather than drawing on the common understanding of these concepts and their *Urzeit–Endzeit* schema.

(59) For the Hebrew text of 4QpPs<sup>a</sup>, I follow Maurya P. Horgan, “Psalm Peshier 1 (4Q171 = 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> = 4QpPs37 and 45),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 6b, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries*,

after referring to the righteous one as “the one who does Torah” (עושה התורה), (60) and immediately before referring to “those who love YHWH” as those who will be “princes” (שרים). (61) This is closely connected conceptually to CD III, in which the reference to כבוד אדם is part of the conclusion of an apocalyptic historiographical survey, (62) in which the *yahad* stands above their apostate predecessors by virtue of YHWH establishing a covenant with them—that is, those who remained strong אל במצות אל—and “revealing to them the hidden things” (לגלות להם נסתרות). (63) Importantly, however, the historiographical survey begins with the disobedience of the Watchers and makes no mention of Adam’s disobedience. (64) As part of this covenant, YHWH built the *yahad* as a בית נאמן; this “sure house” understood in priestly terms may well serve as the organizing principle of the unit. (65) What light might these two passages shed on 4QFlor’s מקדש אדם?

*and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, PTSDSS (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 6–23.

(60) 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 1–10 ii 23; 1–10 iii 5.

(61) Cf. CD VI 1–7.

(62) Cf. 4Q416 2 iii 12 (נחלת כבוד), applied specifically to the מבין; 4Q418 69 ii 12–13 (בני שמים אשר חיים עולם נחלתם).

(63) Deut 29:28 lies in the background of the *nistarot–niglot* schema; it reads: “The *nistarot* are for YHWH our God and the *niglot* are for us and our children unto the ages, to do all the words of this Torah” (הנסתרת ליהוה אלהינו והנגלת לנו ולבנינו עד) (עולם לעשות את כל דברי התורה הזאת). On the relationship between *nistarot* and *niglot* in 1QS V 8–9 and in V 11–12, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran*, SJLA 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 22–32; Shani Tzoref, “The ‘Hidden’ and the ‘Revealed’: Esotericism, Election, and Culpability in Qumran and Related Literature,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at 60: The Scholarly Contributions of NYU Faculty and Alumni*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and Shani Tzoref, STDJ 89 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 299–324.

(64) Wise, “4QFlorilegium and the Temple of Adam,” 126–127. Cf. 4Q423 I. See also Jean-Sébastien Rey, “In the Garden of Good and Evil: Reimagining a Tradition (Sir 17:1–14, 4Q303, 4QInstruction, 1QS 4:25–26, and 1QSa 1:10–11),” in *Is There a Text in this Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioata, Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 473–492. Regarding the Qumranic writings referenced in the title of his paper, Rey concludes: “The omission of the [Edenic] story of transgression and human violence in these texts can hardly be explained as accidental and is certainly related to a re-evaluation of the question of the origins of evil in the world,” 492. Cf. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Book of Jubilees and the Origin of Evil,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 294–308; Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, JSJSup 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 332.

(65) CD A III 20. For בית נאמן as the organizing principle, see Goldman, “The Exegesis and Structure of Pesharim in the Damascus Document,” 200.



In both writings—CD III and 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> 1–10 iii 1–2—the community lives in anticipation of the fulfillment of their future Adamic glory and Adamic inheritance. Nevertheless, given that their lives in the present are seen somehow to be akin to that for which they hope, they *currently* constitute **מקדש אדם**, (66) existing as a priestly people. (67) Within this interpretation, it is important to recognize that CD III 21–IV 6 and 4QFlor I both share the common interpretive framework of citation of or allusion to Ezek 44, which itself solidifies, in my estimation, the *yahad*'s continuity between their present experience and their future experience of the eschatological temple. (68) Against Michael Wise's interpretation, however, it seems to me that the ingenuity required to equate **מקדש אדם** with **מקדש יהוה** is too discreet to overcome the face-value difference between the two; (69) given the

(66) On the temporal schema, cf. Dimant, "The Idea of the Community," 177–178.

(67) The implicit priestly portrayal of Adam is further supported by the cultic coloring of the portrayal of Eden as a temple in 4Q265 7 ii. Cf. Jub. 3:27, in which Adam is cast in priestly garb, offering a sacrifice. Note also the thoroughly cultic and Sinaitic coloring of the creation account in *Jubilees*, which may shed comparative light on 4QFlor's conception of a "sanctuary of Adam." Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and *Jubilees*," in *Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992*, ed. George J. Brooke (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 3–10. The description of the community in priestly terms in the scrolls under discussion, including 4QFlor, can be contextualized with reference to the notion of the "priesthood of all Israel" in the late Second Temple period; see Martha Himmelfarb, "'A Kingdom of Priests': The Democratization of the Priesthood in the Literature of Second Temple Judaism," *Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy* 6 (1997): 89–104. Nevertheless, Himmelfarb's conclusions do not apply straightforwardly to 4QFlor, given the implicit notion of a "true Israel" therein. Cf. John J. Collins, "The Construction of Israel in the Sectarial Rule Books," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity* 5, vol. 1, *The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Alan J. Avery-Peck, Jacob Neusner, and Bruce Chilton (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 25–42; Dimant, "The Idea of the Community," 189; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Israel," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 388–391.

(68) See Goldman, "The Exegesis and Structure of Pesharim in the Damascus Document," 197. Commenting on the allusion to Ezek 44:15 in CD IV 4, in which "the sons of Zadok" are said to "stand [before the Lord] in the latter days," Goldman writes: "The implicit peshar on the verse embedded in this formulation suggests that [the] sectaries' service and duties in their community are equal to God's worship in the Temple, and it will continue also at the end of days." I would simply add that in 4QFlor, the continuity between the community's present experience and their experience of the future temple is not unqualified, for the continuity envisioned does not abrogate the distinction between the present service of the community and the future life of the **מקדש יהוה**.

(69) Although I do not follow Dimant ("The Idea of the Community") in her reading of **מקדש אדם**, I agree that "there is no textual basis for the assumption that the eschatological temple, namely the Temple of Yahweh, is identical with the Temple of Men," 184.



author's ability to manipulate passages for his own purposes and his predilection for identification, one would think that if he wanted to equate the two, he would have done so explicitly, likely by means of an identification. Further, the image in 1QS VIII 4–15 of the *yahad* as “an everlasting plantation” and “a most holy dwelling of Aaron” which “atones for the land and offers up sweet fragrances,” (70) in order to prepare the way for YHWH (through *מדרש התורה*)—a description which Newsom characterizes as “not merely ... one more account of community procedure but rather ... an expression of its highest potential and its *telos*”—provides a corroborative picture of the community *qua* מקדש in active expectation. (71) We should thus posit continuity without equating the two sanctuaries, for the *yahad* is a community whose present mirrors their future, albeit only partially and imperfectly. (72)

(70) See also 4Q258 3a–d vi; 1QS V 6 (with its reference to the *בית האמת*). On “eternal plantation” (*עולם מטעת*), cf. 4Q500. Cf. Cecilia Wassen, “Do You Have to Be Pure in a Metaphorical Temple? Sanctuary Metaphors and Constructions of Sacred Space in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Paul’s Letters?” in *Purity, Holiness, and Identity in Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Memory of Susan Haber*, ed. Carl S. Ehrlich, Anders Runesson, and Eileen Schuller, WUNT 305 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 55–86. Wassen writes: “Taken together, the metaphors of the community as both a temple building and a garden sanctuary present the community as a sacred place on the most fundamental level. This quality in turn stems from God’s presence; in other words, God’s presence alone sanctifies and makes a place holy. All other attributes expressed through these metaphors ... depend on this fundamental concept,” 66.

(71) Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 153. Newsom plausibly argues that this is part of the rhetorical shaping of 1QS, in which the reader is directed from “entry, through knowledge and discipline, to an understanding of the spiritual perfection toward which the disciplines of community life lead,” 154. On the role of Isa 40:3 in 1QS VIII–IX, see Shani Tzoref, “The Use of Scripture in the Community Rule,” in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 203–234, esp. 210–217; Alex P. Jassen, “Ancient Prophets as Lawgivers at Qumran,” *JBL* 127 (2008): 307–337, esp. 319–322. Those in view in 1QS VIII—the “twelve men and three priests”—may well represent an elite group within the *yahad*, as argued by Collins, “Beyond the Qumran Community,” 361–365.

(72) Cf. Florentino García Martínez, “Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Continuum History of Apocalypticism*, ed. Bernard McGinn, John J. Collins, and Stephen Stein (New York: Continuum, 2003), 96–101; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, SBLMS 37 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989). The question of whether the offerings referenced in 4QFlor I 5–6 are to be understood literally or metaphorically is ultimately beyond the bounds of the current paper, as is the question of the historical value of the testimonies of Philo (e.g. *Prob.* 75) and Josephus (e.g. *Ant.* 18:19). See Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran*, 105–133. Cf. Alison Schofield, “An Altar in the Desert? A Response to Jodi Magness, ‘Were Sacrifices Offered at Qumran?’” *JAJ* 7 (2016): 123–135.

Both 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> II–III and CD III–V share a thematic cluster which relates their covenantal election, fidelity to the true interpretation of Torah as unveiled by God to them, and their typologically-exilic experience to a future life resembling the protological Adamic past. This Adamic past represents *חיי נצח*, not alone but *עם אל*. (73) The contextual cluster of identifications establishes a common conceptual framework between 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> II–III, CD III–V, and 4QFlor. This is not to say that the author of 4QFlor alludes to these other texts (or vice versa), but rather that the three witness to a common conceptual framework of communal self-definition, in which the favored community is comprised of the true heirs of Adam. The distinctive contribution of the polemical interpretation offered herein is the author's move to denigrate the Jerusalem temple cult by relegating it to a history of apostasy and to reach even further back into history—in fact, to proto-history—to a time when God dwelled among humanity, in order to ground the present experience and the future expectation of a life of Torah-fidelity and purity in the presence of the divine. (74)

*4QFlor I 7b–9: The Covenantal Enemies:* *מכול בני מכול אויביה* qua *כליעל*

The following two and a half lines function as a transitional interpretive frame, rather than as a subsection in its own right. Recognizing this as transitional allows us to highlight that it is not an end in itself or a self-contained unit; rather, it provides a polemical frame for the following messianic interpretation and an added explanation of why the *yahad* will not be destroyed in the same way that the first temple was destroyed. The author draws on the scriptural text, 2 Sam 7:11b, not simply because it is in the base text—he does not aim for comprehensive analysis—but rather because it allows him thereafter to present the *promise* which God will fulfill through his divinely anointed messianic agents, as well as the *problems* that these intermediary figures will solve.

4QFlor I 7b–9 reads: “And according to which he said to David, ‘And I will give you rest from all of your enemies,’ which (means) he will give them rest from all the sons of Belial who cause them to

(73) Cf. CD III 20; 6Q18 (6Qpaphymn); *Jub.* 8:19.

(74) I thus do not follow Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 218, who identifies the community as the eschatological sanctuary in anticipation. Cf. Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and The Temple*, 162–168. While I agree with Klawans in highlighting the provisional nature of the *yahad* as a temple replacement and the inexactness with which the *yahad* corresponds to the future temple, I nevertheless also argue that 4QFlor reveals that this measure of inexactness does not preclude the conception of the *yahad* as the locus of divine presence in the present.

stumble in order to destroy them, just as they came with the plan of Belial to cause the sons of light to stumble and to devise against them plans for disaster so that they would be caught by Belial in their wicked transgression” (ואשר אמר לדורידו [הניחו] תי לכה מכול אויביכה אשר יניח) להמה מכ[ו]ל בני בליעל המכשילים אותמה לכלותמ[ה] מה כאשר באו במחשבת ב[ל]י[על] להכשיל ב[נ]י א[ו]ר[ר] ולחשוב עליהמה מחשבות און למ[ען] ית[פשו] (לבליעל במשנת א[ו]ר[נמה]). (75) Of the interpretations offered in 4QFlor thus far, this may constitute the clearest evidence of the divinatory quality of the interpretation, (76) for herein there is no evidence of studious engagement with or cognizance of the co-text or diachrony; the author simply offers a contemporary identification. (77) Brooke asserts that “the section of the midrash in which the expression בני בליעל chiefly occurs is concerned to relate the rest that is to be given to David,

(75) Cf. 4Q252 IV 1–3, wherein the writer replaces Deut 25:19’s temporal frame, “when YHWH your God has given you rest from all of your enemies” (והיה באחרית הימים) with (בהניח יהוה אלהיך לך מכל איבך).

(76) Gabbay, “Akkadian Commentaries;” Nissinen, “Pesharim as Divination.”

(77) *Contra* Blake Jurgens, “Is It Peshet? Readdressing the Relationship between the Epistle of Jude and the Qumran Pesharim,” *JBL* 136 (2017): 491–510. Jurgens, relying on the arguments of Brooke (“Genre Theory, Rewritten Bible and Peshet,” *DSD* 17 [2010]: 361–386) and Berrin (“Qumran Pesharim,” 320–329), contrasts the author of Jude with the Pesharists, arguing that whereas the former derives its authority not from the “ancient prophets” but from “contemporary figures,” the Pesharim “do not replace the meaning of their base texts but simply *reinterpret* their perceived hidden meanings and apply them to their current situation. The old meanings *remain intact* but are simply supplemented with a hidden passage,” 507–508. Although a fuller study would be needed to engage these assertions adequately, the present study’s findings demonstrate that the pesharist—if we can so call the author of 4QFlor—does not “always” consider the context and “anchor [the interpretation] in the *ancient texts themselves*,” nor do we have reason to think that author has a concern for “the old meanings,” such that we could say they remain intact for him. Further, the authoritative role of the recent founding figure, the Teacher of Righteousness, in the interpretive enterprise—despite retaining an aura of ambiguity—seems to problematize Jurgens’s juxtaposed contradistinction between Jude and the Pesharim on the basis of their divergent authority-conferring strategies (ancient prophets versus contemporary figures). See Judith H. Newman, *Before the Bible: The Liturgical Body and the Formation of Scriptures in Early Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 14–19, 107–40; John J. Collins, “Was the Dead Sea Sect an Apocalyptic Movement?” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, *JSPSup* 8 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 25–51, esp. 41–44; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Teacher of Righteousness Remembered: From Fragmentary Sources to Collective Memory in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Memory in the Bible and Antiquity: The Fifth Durham-Tübingen Research Symposium* (Durham, September 2004), ed. Stephen C. Barton, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Benjamin G. Wold, *WUNT* 212 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 75–94; Gabbay, “Akkadian Commentaries,” 295, 305; cf. Steven D. Fraade, “Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran,” *JJS* 44 (1993): 46–69; Charlotte Hempel, “Interpretive Authority in the Community Rule Tradition,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 59–80.

according to Nathan's oracle, to the rest that will come about when all the plottings of the children of Belial cease." (78) For Brooke, the interpreter "relates" the meaning found in the original context of Nathan's oracle to the context of the *yahad*, but this does not adequately capture the force of the interpretation. The interpreter does not write that their experience stands *in relation to* the promise to David which was fulfilled in ancient times—as if the community's present were to be conceived of as *analogous* to the past. Rather, the interpreter identifies the promise as being made, in actual fact, to the community. Thus, whereas Brooke describes something of a double-move—from, first, identifying an original meaning to, second, relating it to their present (or here recent) experience—I would argue that the interpretation offered herein is actually singular: an identification of the true meaning of the word which God spoke through Nathan, a divination. (79)

In light of passages such as 1QpHab XI 4–8, (80) it seems plausible that a remembered event—the referent of which it is difficult to ascertain—lies behind 4QFlor I 7b–9. (81) As it relates to the hermeneutics of the pesharim, Jacob Neusner argued that their historiographical quality, particularly the fact that the pesharim are prompted by events rather than the biblical text, nullifies their claim to be truly exegetical. (82) Geza Vermes responded, arguing, "If the Qumran authors

(78) Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 194.

(79) Further support for this analysis of the interpretation derives from the fact that the promise of 2 Sam 7 simply did not hold up historically. Cf. Michael Segal, "Interpreting History in Qumran Texts," in *The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*, 28–30 May, 2013, ed. Ruth A. Clements, Menahem Kister, and Michael Segal, STDJ 127 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 212–244. Segal discerns a "basic worldview," in which "the span of history [is] a recursive pattern of similar events." He writes: "This idea is a fundamental characteristic of the Qumran sect's religious beliefs, as demonstrated by the *double realization* of prophecy as promoted in the *peshar* texts," 241 (emphasis added). I suggest that 4QFlor I 1–13 lacks such a "double realization."

(80) I do not hereby equate the two passages. I simply draw on it as precedent for an embedded historical referent in (and as) an interpretation.

(81) Nevertheless, it is also important to recognize, in light of recent work by Jokiranta, that the history presented in the pesharim functions as a sort of "mirror of the self-understanding of the group." See Jutta Jokiranta, "Pesharim: A Mirror of Self-Understanding," in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations*, ed. Kristin de Troyer and Armin Lange, SBL Symposium Series 30 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 23–34. Jokiranta writes: "The pesharim do not wish to present historical facts as such, but rather point out boundaries," 33. I would simply add that the lack of concern for "historical facts as such" is not unique to the historiography of the pesharim.

(82) Jacob Neusner, *Ancient Judaism and Modern Category Formation* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1986), 50. Note that the historical focus, and particularly

had aimed at historiography disguised as Bible interpretation, they would have selected passages, rather than follow, often laboriously, a book chapter by chapter, verse by verse.” (83) It seems to me, however, that, although perhaps in need of reformulation, Neusner’s basic point retains a measure of validity. The primary *explicandum* (that which is to be explained), at least in this instance, is not really the biblical text; it is a specific part of the community’s history. (84) The *explicans* (that which contains the explanation) is the scriptural text. But the scriptural text is tethered to the event so that the event is that which explains the text. There is thus a measure of circularity that, in my estimation, is symptomatic of the fact that the interpreter’s primary aim is not so much to interpret the scriptural text before him but rather to render the *yahad*’s experience coherent—and not simply coherent, but divinely ordained. (85)

The last component of this transitional frame to consider is its specific characterization of the “sons of Belial.” (86) 4QFlor simply

the focus on the community’s own history, is part of Horgan’s definition of the *pesharim*; Horgan, *Pesharim*, 229.

(83) Geza Vermes, “Bible Interpretation at Qumran,” *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* (1989): 184–191. See Berrin, “Qumran Pesharim,” 126–127, esp. n. 62.

(84) Cf. Steudel, *Der Midrasch*, 169. Despite recognizing the necessity of employing caution in constructing histories of varying degrees of plausibility on the basis of 4QFlor, as one part of a composite historiographical project which would certainly draw on other texts, such as 1QpHab and 4QpNah, I am not as skeptical of the enterprise as Steudel.

(85) Collins, “Prophecy and History in the Pesharim,” 226. Cf. Steven Fraade, *From Tradition to Commentary: Torah and Its Interpretation in the Midrash Sifre to Deuteronomy*, SUNY Series in Judaica (New York: State University of New York University Press, 1991), 6. Commenting on 1QpHab I 16 II10, though in a manner worth applying to other *pesharim*, Fraade writes: “... the commentary does not simply convey the base-text’s meaning to its students but conveys those very students, as it were, through the history of the sect from its beginning through its more recent past to its imminent ending, even while unifying that history in relation to the prophetic base-verse,” 6.

(86) Note that there is only one instance (out of twenty-six total instances) in which the LXX renders בלעל as a proper name: Judges 20:13. Otherwise, it is rendered thus: παράνομος (Deut 13:14; Judg 19:22; 2 Kgdms 16:7; 20:1; 23:5; 3 Kgdms 20:10, 13; 2 Chr 13:7; Pss 40:9 [MT 41:9]; 100:3 [MT 101:3]; Job 34:18), λοιμός (1 Kgs 1:16; 2:12; 10:27; 25:17, 25; 30:22), ἄφρων (Prov 6:12; 16:27; 19:28), ἐναντίος (Nah 1:11), παλαιός (Nah 2:1), ἀνόμημα (Deut 15:9), ἀνομία (2 Kgs 22:5; Ps 17:5 [MT 18:5]); nevertheless, it is transliterated and thus treated as a proper name in the Vulgate twelve out of twenty-four times (*Belial*) (Deut 13:13; Judg 19:22; 1 Sam 1:16; 2:12; 10:27; 25:17; 2 Sam 16:7; 22:5; 1 Kgs 21:10; 2 Chron 13:7; Nah 1:15). On *Belial* as an example of “how the distinction between sectarian and non-sectarian texts may change the perspective of a given term,” see Devorah Dimant, “Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts from Qumran: The Pertinence

states that they attempt to cause others to stumble in order to destroy them and that (in the past) they did as much to the Sons of Light. The singular clue 4QFlor provides is that the activity of the sons of Belial must stand staunchly opposed to מעשי תורה, given that the “works of Torah”—in fact, of “the whole Torah” (כול התורה)—constitute the community’s expression of fidelity within their covenant. (87) CD IV 12–19 provides a more specific identification of the iniquitous activity of Belial. (88) Therein the author looks ahead to a future time when “Belial will be set loose against Israel.” He goes on to quote and interpret Isa 24:17: “‘Panic, pit and net against you, earth-dweller.’ Its explanation (פשר): they are Belial’s three nets about which Levi, son of Jacob, spoke, by which he catches (תפש) Israel ... The first is fornication; the second, wealth; the third, defilement of the temple” (טמא המקדש). (89) Although 4QFlor does not utilize the image of a net, it shares with CD the image of “being caught” by (the sons of) Belial (תפש). In light of CD IV, although 4QFlor does not provide an explicit statement concerning the evil of Belial, I consider it plausible that the author has the final “net” in view, טמא המקדש, for it is the very focus of the preceding lines in 4QFlor. (90)

Similar to both CD IV and 4QFlor I, however, 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII refers to the community’s enemies as those who follow Belial, and who use nets of false knowledge to catch those following God (להתפש במצודותם). The hymnist of the Hodayot then turns the language of “catching”

and Usage of a Taxonomy,” *RevQ* 24 (2009): 7–18 (16–18); “Between Qumran Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts: The Case of Belial and Mastema,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)*, ed. Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref, STDJ 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 235–256. Cf. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels: Studies in Second Temple Judaism and New Testament Texts*, WUNT 335 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 98–100. On Belial in ancient Jewish sources, see S. David Sperling, “Belial,” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd ed., ed. Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 169–171.

(87) 4QFlor I 6–7, II 2.

(88) Note, however, that whereas in 4QFlor “the sons of Belial” are in view, in CD, Belial himself is let loose.

(89) CD IV 12–19, trans. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, 557.

(90) Although in CD V 6–7, the author explains the defilement of the temple in terms of sleeping with the woman “who sees the blood of her menstrual flow,” this is a specific example (not the exclusive example) of not observing מברדל כתורה, which the author highlights given the context. On the semantics of טמא in the Dead Sea Scrolls within the context of purity concerns, see Hannah K. Harrington, “What is the Semantic Field of the Lexemes טהר and טמא in the Dead Sea Scrolls?” *RevQ* 24 (2009): 97–114, esp. 103–106.

against them in his rebuke: “in their plans they are caught who turn aside from your covenant” (יתפשו במחשבותם אשר נוורו מבריתכה) (91). Having described those of Belial, he contrasts them with his own community (addressing the divine):

Those who are in harmony with you will stand in your presence always; those who walk on the path of your heart, will be established permanently (ואשר כנפשכה יעמודו לפניכה לעד והולכי בדרך לבכה) ... Those who walk on the path of your heart have listened to me; they have aligned themselves before you in the council of the holy ones (ישומעוני ההולכים) (בדרך לבכה ויערכו לכה בסוד קדושים) (92).

The polemic in the Hodayot thus shows the fundamentally covenantal dimension of the polemic with those of Belial; to be caught in their net is to break covenant, and to break covenant is to be banished from the presence of God. Nevertheless, God has recognized the *yahad*'s fidelity of holiness (*qua* separation). Further, those who arose in the community constitute the proof of God's own fidelity to his promises, especially his promise to overcome Belial. Thus, whereas in ancient times Belial raised up enemies of Israel, who “removed the boundary and led Israel astray” (מסיני הנבול ויתעו את ישראל) (93) in recent times “God remembered the covenant of the forefathers ... and he raised from Aaron people of understanding (נבונים) and from Israel wise people (חכמים), and he caused them to listen. And they dug a well.” (94) The passages from the Hodayot and the Damascus Document, I would suggest, provide a glimpse of the background of 4QFlor's transitional sentence regarding the “sons of Belial,” the enemies of the *yahad*. (95) The polemic is fundamentally a matter of covenantal fidelity in the form

(91) 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII 20.

(92) 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII 21–25, trans. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 169.

(93) CD V 18–20.

(94) Ibid. VI 2–3.

(95) See 4Q286 7, which Davila designates, “A liturgy of imprecation against Belial and his minions.” James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, ECDSS 6 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 59–62. This text is quite important, because it reveals that the *yahad* had a liturgical praxis of imprecation directed specifically at those of Belial. See also 1QS II; 4QAmram. Cf. Daniel K. Falk, “In the Margins of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Bible as Notepad: Tracing Annotations and Annotation Practices in Late Antique and Medieval Biblical Manuscripts*, ed. Liv Ingeborg Lied and Marilena Maniaci, *Manuscripta Biblica* 3 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018), 10–38. Falk argues for the connection between the materiality (especially marginalia) of certain Qumran scrolls—including 1QpHab and 4QpIsa—and their liturgical performativity. In many instances, including the two aforementioned pesharim and 4Q504, Falk concludes that the material engagement and marginalia derive from secondary readers at Qumran rather than original scribes, thus giving witness to a performative environment.



of Torah observance, (96) but—as with the theme which we have unpacked in 4QFlor thus far—the experience of the presence of God itself is at stake in this invective against the “sons of Belial.”

*4QFlor I 10–13: Securing and Safeguarding the Divine Presence:*  
צמח דויד qua בית דויד

We now arrive at the concluding subunit of 4QFlor’s interpretation of 2 Sam 7. The primary component of 4QFlor I 10–13 is an interpretation of 2 Sam 7:11c, 12b, and 13b–14a in the form of an identification of the בית which YHWH will build for David as the צמח דויד who will arise באחרית הימים with the דורש התורה. The author supports the identification with a subordinate citation of Amos 9:11a. Notably missing from the author’s citation of 2 Sam 7 are 7:13a (הוא יבנה בית) לשמי; αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσει μοι οἶκον τῷ ὀνόματί μου) and the phrase אשר יצא ממעך in 7:12. Both omissions reveal the author’s intent to bypass any conception of the historical fulfillment of this promise in Solomon, and thus in the first temple. (97)

The three lines reflect the bi-messianism known from the Qumran scrolls—the origins of which go back to the “sons of oil” (בני היצהר) of Zechariah—and provide an unambiguous reference to אחרית הימים as referring to a future time. (98) 4QFlor I 10–13 reads:

‘And YHWH announces to you that he will build a house for you. And I will raise your seed after you, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom unto the ages. I will be a father to him, and he will be a son to me.’ This one is the shoot of David who will arise with the interpreter of the law (הואה צמח דויד העומד עם דורש התורה) who [...] in Zion in the latter days, as it is written, ‘And I will raise the booth of David which has fallen’ (כאשר כתוב והקימותי את סוכת דויד הנופלת). (99) This one is the booth of David who has fallen who will arise to deliver Israel (היאה [סוכת דויד הנופל] את אשר יעמוד להושיע את ישראל).

(96) Cf. 4Q390.

(97) Mroczek, “How not to Build a Temple,” 539.

(98) See Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 34–36; Frank Moore Cross, “Testimonia (4Q175 = 4QTestimonia = 4QTestim),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, vol. 6b, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, PTSDSS (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2002), 308–328.

(99) Cf. Amos 9:11a in MT: היום הוא אקים את סכת דויד הנפלת; in LXX: ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐδείνῃ ἀναστήσω τὴν οἰκὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν; and in Acts 15:16: καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν οἰκὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν. MT and LXX agree, while Acts agrees with 4QFlor (and CD VII 16). The quotation in Acts also contains καθὼς γέγραπται, a Greek equivalent of כאשר כתוב.

The interpretation herein rather straightforwardly presents the two messianic figures—one royal, one priestly—who will arise “in the latter days.” There is minimal explication of these figures’ roles, and the only defense of the interpretation provided is the secondary citation of Amos 9:11 (hence **כְּאִשֵּׁר כָּתוּב**). (100) As for the royal messiah, the Yahwistic oracles of Jeremiah 23:5–6 and 33:14–26 seem to have provided the key vocabulary, (101) thus giving rise to references to “the shoot of David” among many writings from Qumran. (102) A similar identification of “the shoot of David” as the royal messiah occurs in 4Q252 (4QCommGen A), in which the messianic figure from Gen 49:10 is interpreted as “the messiah of righteousness, the shoot of David” (**מְשִׁיחַ הַצֶּדֶק צֶמַח דָּוִד**). (103) Further, the interpretive frame of 2 Sam 7, which contains the divine father-son dynamic in the setting of royal coronation, provides solid ground for seeing the messianic figure as the “son of God.” (104) On the other hand, the basis for seeing **סוֹכֵת דָּוִד הַנוֹפֶלֶת** as the priestly messiah in the interpretive tradition is not as clear. For instance, although the booth of David is here identified as the Interpreter of the Law, in CD VII 15–16 it is identified as the books of the Torah (**סִפְרֵי הַתּוֹרָה**). (105) The evidence of Deut 33 in 4QFlor frgs. 6–11, however, likely provides further evidence for this priestly messianic figure, (106) especially in light of the way in which

(100) Géza G. Xeravitz, *King, Priest, Prophet: Positive Eschatological Protagonists of the Qumran Library*, STDJ 47 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 154–156.

(101) On the LXX’s use of ἀνατολή for צֶמַח at Jer 23:5, Zech 3:8, and 6:12, see Gregory R. Lanier, “The Curious Case of צֶמַח and ἀνατολή: An Inquiry into Septuagint Translation Patterns,” *JBL* 134 (2015): 505–527. Against previous studies which fixated on either side of the “grow/glow” semantic field of צֶמַח, Lanier argues that ἀνατολή “is a semantically appropriate gloss that captures the underlying sense of the metaphor: the emergence or arising of a deliverer figure.” He thus suggests the translation, “(an/the) Arising One,” corresponding to LXX.??’s *Aufgang*, 527.

(102) Jer 23:5–6 (NRSV) reads: “The days are surely coming, says the LORD, when I will raise up for David a righteous Branch, and he shall reign as king and deal wisely, and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land (**וְהָקִמְתִּי לְדָוִד צֶמַח צְדִיק**). In his days Judah will be saved (**תּוֹשָׁע**) and Israel will live in safety. And this is the name by which he will be called: ‘The LORD is our righteousness’ (**יְהוָה צְדִקְנוּ**).” See Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 52–78.

(103) On which, see Matthew A. Collins, *The Use of Sobriquets in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls*, LSTS 67 (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2009), 117–124.

(104) Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 185.

(105) While beyond the bounds of the current paper, it is nevertheless necessary to note the problem of the redactional and compositional history of the *Damascus Document*, which has direct bearing on the messianism(s) of the document. See Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 84–90; Menahem Kister, “The Development of the Early Recensions of the Damascus Document,” *DSD* 14 (2007): 61–76.

(106) Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 205; Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 126. Cf. Kenneth Atkinson, “On the Herodian Origin of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran: New Light From *Psalms of Solomon* 17,” *JBL* 118 (1999): 435–460, esp. 457.

4Q175 (Testimonia) 17–18 concatenates Deut 33:10—regarding Levi’s offspring as teachers of “the ordinances to Jacob and of the Torah to Israel”—in a series of passages with reference to the priestly messiah. The framework in 4Q175 is similarly bi-messianic.

How does this bi-messianism cohere with the aims of the entire unit, 4QFlor I 1–13? Xeravits writes: “In light of the sparsity of information on the protagonists, it is obvious that the central intention of the author of 4Q174 is not to relate positive eschatological figures.” (107) I agree, but I would add that the messianism is part of the schema of defending the divine presence in the *yahad*. To properly understand the role of each of these messiahs, it is necessary to consider them in relation to the previous polemical interpretation of the “sons of Belial.” The sons of Belial turn the people of the covenant away from God. 4QFlor refers to the royal messiah because he is the one who defeats them, here with a clear subtext of eschatological warfare. (108) The specific means by which the sons of Belial turn the *yahad* away is through infidelity to the true teaching of Torah, most especially on matters of holiness. 4QFlor then refers to the priestly messiah because he is the one who safeguards the holiness of the people by promulgating the true teaching of Torah. (109) Interpreted against this backdrop, the two eschatological figures function in tandem to safeguard the eschatological experience of the divine in the “holy place of YHWH” (מקדש יהוה), which he himself will construct for the *yahad* in the אחרית הימים. (110) The two messianic figures are thus here construed as representatives of the divine whose task is to secure the presence of the divine. (111)

(107) *King, Priest, Prophet*, 156.

(108) Cf. 1QM.

(109) It is important here to recognize the perceived continuity between the interpretive enterprise of the *yahad* and that of the Teacher of Righteousness. Jutta Jokiranta, “The Prototypical Teacher in the Qumran Pesharim: A Social Identity Approach,” in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in Its Social Context*, ed. Philip F. Esler (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 254–263; Stuckenbruck, “The Teacher of Righteousness Remembered.” As CD B XX 27–34 seems to indicate, fidelity to the Torah manifests itself as fidelity to the Teacher. The contours of this continuity are then projected into the messianic future through the figure of the Interpreter of the Law.

(110) Note that neither of the messiahs in 4QFlor are temple-builders. Cf. Zech 4:6–10; 6:12–13.

(111) Of the two, the royal messiah is uniquely positioned to do this given his status as the son of God. Cf. the Aramaic “Son of God” text, 4Q246 II 1, which reads: ברה די אל יתאמר ובר עליון יקרונה. On 4Q246, with a history of scholarship, see Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 171–190. Collins advances the messianic position and suggests that the document may well provide evidence of influence from the “one like a son of man” (כבר אנש) from Daniel 7. He notes: “No other adaptation or interpretation of that chapter has yet been identified in the Qumran corpus,” 188. Cf. Annette Steudel, “The Eternal Reign of the People of God: Collective Expectations in Qumran Texts

## Conclusions

4QFlor's polemical interpretive enterprise in what traditionally has been reconstructed as I 1–13 revolves around the authenticating presence of God in the *yahad* in the unfolding eschatological drama. The unit stems from reflection on the *yahad*'s typologically-exilic experience and thus gives witness to the *yahad*'s polemic against the Jerusalem temple cult. (112) It aims not simply to provide a **מדרש באחרית הימים**, but rather a defense of the divine presence **באחרית הימים**. (113) We can surmise that the dwelling of God in the *yahad* was particularly poignant for the author of 4QFlor I 1–13 because the *yahad* was not (typologically, and, for many, literally) dwelling in the city. (114)

A noteworthy feature of the interpretation—as with much of the *pesharim*—is the strong degree of discontinuity it posits between the *yahad* and the majority of the history of Israelite and early Jewish experience, as well as the corresponding continuity between the *yahad* and the divinely-inspired prophetic oracles themselves. (115) The

(4Q246 and 1QM),” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 507–525. Despite arguing that 4Q246 is “certainly not a genuine Qumran text,” Steudel, who argues for a communal interpretation of 4Q246, cites 4QFlor's interpretation of 2 Sam 7:14 as the only “Qumranic parallel” to 4Q246 on the notion of the “son of God” with reference to a messiah (518, n. 65).

(112) Cf. Wassen, “Do You Have to Be Pure in a Metaphorical Temple?” 61, 69–70.

(113) It is thus interesting to compare the way in which 4QFlor functions in Klawans' consideration of the Qumran community *qua* temple. Cf. Klawans, *Purity, Sacrifice, and The Temple*, 162–168. Klawans writes: “Another important way in which the homology [of the community and temple] is incomplete is terminological: with the exception of the problematic *miqdash adam* phrase in 4QFlorilegium, the passages typically cited in discussions of the Qumranic community-as-temple concept make use not of the specific word for sanctuary (מקדש) but the more ambiguous and multivalent term, ‘house’ (בית; e.g., 1QS 8:5–6; 9:6),” 165. 4QFlor's conception of the community *qua* מקדש therefore also constitutes an exception to his claim that “this comparison [between the community and the temple] is not a doctrine—it is a ‘slogan’ ... And it is not just a slogan but also a metaphoric one that purposely utilizes the more ambiguous term (‘house’) over the specific term (‘sanctuary’),” 168.

(114) As Smith, *Where the Gods Are*, notes: “Like temples, cities were stages for the performance of divine power and presence. In a sense, cities were temples writ large,” 26. Cf. 11QT<sup>a</sup> XLV 11–12.

(115) Jassen, “Ancient Prophets as Lawgivers at Qumran,” argues that 1QS VIII 15–16, in light of 1QS V 8–9 and IX 13–14, reveals a self-perceived continuity between “the classical prophets’ revelation of law and the similar sectarian activity,” 334. Nevertheless, Jassen also describes something akin to what I am here referring to as their discontinuity; he writes: “The sect viewed its own receipt of divinely revealed law through progressive revelation as a prophetic encounter in continuity with that in which it believed the ancient prophets were similarly engaged. Israel's apostasy and the resultant rupture, however, created a *historical gap between the prophets and the sect*. The Qumran corpus bridges this gap by closely aligning the activity of the sect and their prophetic predecessors. In doing so, the Qumran literature identifies the present

dynamics of this dual discontinuity and continuity are seen through the lens of the temple, the locus of divine dwelling; to transcend the historical gap between the *yahad* and the prophetic oracles, they inscribe themselves into the *Urzeit–Endzeit* schema based on the Adamic and Edenic proto-historical priestly glory. Herein the scriptural texts are themselves oracles, (116) and thus diachronic considerations are irrelevant; what matters is that the interpreted text is a divine utterance and ever applies to the community. (117) Other than the oracle itself and the *yahad*'s own history, what happened before or after the production of the written oracle is functionally irrelevant. (118) The interpreters are thus diviners, and their hermeneutical activity is in a sense divinatory. (119) 4QFlorilegium gives witness to a time, as Eva Mroczek writes, "when different possibilities existed for imagining the morphology of sacred literature." (120)

receipt of revealed law as the latest stage in the prophetic revelation of law," 336 (emphasis added). Cf. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine*, 343–362. The contours of this dynamic of continuity and discontinuity can be fruitfully compared with the similar (and still debated) dynamics at work in "rewritten scripture," on which, see note 10 above. See also Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, JSJSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

(116) Michael Satlow, *How the Bible Became Holy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 186–187.

(117) Cf. James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 14–19.

(118) *Contra* Hartog, *Pesher and Hypomnema*, 240–242.

(119) Cf. Eckart Frahm's recent inquiry into whether Mesopotamian commentaries—many of which were themselves divinatory, and thus provide a key reference point for the conceptual background of my use of the phrase herein—should be considered intellectual or philosophical. Eckart Frahm, "The Perils of Omnisignificance: Language and Reason in Mesopotamian Hermeneutics," *JANEH* 5 (2018): 1–23. Frahm concludes in the negative, basing his argument especially on the "omnisignificant" nature of the hermeneutical exercise, which provides a significant flexibility to their interpretation and which results "in a considerable degree of exegetical randomness," 14. Frahm's study is particularly relevant for two reasons. Firstly, the concept of "omnisignificance" derives from scholarship on ancient Judaism. Frahm draws on James Kugel's characterization of rabbinic exegesis as having a "basic assumption" of omnisignificance, and thereafter applies that conception to the Mesopotamian commentaries. James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 103–104. Secondly, however, the concept can be analogically applied to 4QFlor and the pesharim, by virtue of the fact that the prophetic oracles which they interpret—irrespective of any past *Sitz im Leben*—always concern the community. Thus, the *yahad*'s own omnisignificance has been transposed onto the prophetic writings (oracles) and thereby onto the hermeneutical enterprise itself.

(120) Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 12 (also 120). See also Hindy Najman, "The Vitality of Scripture Within and Beyond the 'Canon,'" *JSJ* 43 (2012): 497–518.

This proposal goes against the grain of recent attempts to consider the pesharists interpreters concerned with diachronics and co-text. Despite arguing that there is evidence that the interpreter had an awareness of the co-text of the scriptural verses cited, I have argued that his awareness is seen in the manner of hinging on one particular word or thematic aspect and making it all-important, given the *yahad*'s own "omnisignificance." (121) The interpretation is formally deictic and functionally divinatory, but by no means dialogical. (122) In a word, the interpreter—like the hymnist of the Hodayot—has become מליץ דעת ברזי פלא, "a knowing mediator of wonderful mysteries," (123) principal among which is the רי of the divine presence in the desert, הכבוד במדבר.

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(121) *Contra* George J. Brooke, "Controlling Intertexts and Hierarchies of Echo in Two Thematic Eschatological Commentaries from Qumran," in *Reading the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essays in Method*, EJS 39 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 85–98, esp. 90.

(122) The present findings should assist future studies in mapping 4QFlor onto the debate of the interpretive (dis)similarities of the pesharim with the Mesopotamian omen interpretations and the Hellenistic *hypomnemata* on Homer's epics, as well as with Aramaic Jewish dream interpretations and Alexandrian Jewish commentaries. With respect to the last of these, and Philo of Alexandria in particular, see notes 26, 33, and 34 above, which include particular points of conceptual and methodological similarity between 4QFlor and Philo's Allegorical Commentary. Cf. Fraade, "Early Rabbinic Midrash Between Philo and Qumran," who discerns evidence of influence from both Mesopotamian and Hellenistic commentary cultures, the former characterized as "deictic" and the latter as "dialogical" (291–93).

(123) 1QH<sup>a</sup> X 15. Cf. Gen 42:23, in which the LXX translator renders מליץ with ἐρμηνευτής.

# THREE PHILOLOGICAL NOTES ON DEMONOLOGICAL TERMINOLOGY IN THE *SONGS OF THE SAGE* (4Q510 1 4-6) \*

## *Summary*

This paper discusses demonological terms occurring in the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510 1 4-6, with special attention to line 5), which are all derived from an exegetical conflation of Isa 13:21-22 and 34:14, also recorded in rabbinic demonology. Based on the orthographic conventions of Qumran Hebrew, it is argued that the reading שד אים should be preferred over שדאים and interpreted as comprising two different terms. It is further argued that אים is to be understood as a phonetic spelling of MT's אַיִם (occurring in both Isa 13:22 and 34:14), while שד is the Aramaic counterpart of שָׁעִיר (in the singular, as occurring in Isa 34:14), in accordance to a tradition that is independently documented in Targum Jonathan.

## *Résumé*

Cet article examine des termes démonologiques mentionnés dans les *Cantiques du Sage* (4Q510 1 4-6, en particulier ligne 5), tous dérivés d'une conflation de nature exégétique d'Is. 13:21-22 et 34:14 également attestée dans la démonologie rabbinique. En nous appuyant sur les conventions orthographiques de l'hébreu de Qumrân, nous soutenons que la lecture שד אים doit être préférée à שדאים : ce lemme doit être interprété comme comprenant deux mots. Nous avançons en outre que le terme אים doit être compris comme une orthographe phonétique du אַיִם attestée dans le TM d'Is. 13:22 et 34:14, et que שד correspond à l'équivalent araméen de שָׁעִיר (au singulier, tel qu'il apparaît en Is. 34:14), conformément à une tradition documentée de manière indépendante dans le Targum Jonathan.

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## 1. Background

The title “Songs of the Sage” has been assigned in scholarship to two related and partly overlapping manuscripts, marked as 4Q510 and 4Q511. (1) They contain songs of praise—asccribed to the figure of the Instructor (משכיל) (2)—the purpose of which is to provide deliverance from evil forces of various kinds. (3)

Following an elaborate superscription, extending to a preamble (witnessed only by 4Q510 1 1-4), comes a song that can be read as a “methodological statement of how evil spirits can be exorcised.” (4) Its opening runs as follows (4Q510 1 4-6 || 4Q511 10 1'-3'):

ואני משכיל	<sup>4</sup> (a)	And I, an Instructor,
משמיע הוד תפארתו	(b)	sound the glory of his praise,
לפחד ולב[הל]	(c)	in order to frighten and scare away
כול רוחי מלאכי חבל ורוחות ממזרים	<sup>5</sup>	all spirits of the angels of destruction and spirits of bastards

(1) The texts were first published by Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4, III: 4Q482–4Q520*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 215–262, pls. lv–lxxi. The two manuscripts were commonly taken to represent two copies of the same work, but a recent material reconstruction demonstrates that 4Q511 does not exactly parallel 4Q510, despite the textual overlaps between the two manuscripts. See Joseph L. Angel, “The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage B (4Q511),” *RevQ* 27 (2015): 25–82.

(2) See Joseph L. Angel, “*Maskil*, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511),” *DSD* 19 (2012): 1–27.

(3) The text’s genre, function, and unique features vis-à-vis other Jewish anti-demonic practices have been discussed at length by Bilhah Nitzan, “Hymns from Qumran: 4Q510–4Q511,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport, STDJ 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 53–63 (originally published in Hebrew, 1986); eadem, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, trans. Jonathan Chipman, STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 238–272; cf. Esther Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayer in the Second Temple Period,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69–88, esp. 79–80. For its contextualization in the history of ancient Jewish magic see, e.g., Philip S. Alexander, “‘Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places’: Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, JSPSup 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 318–337, esp. 319–324; Menahem Kister, “Demons Theology and Abraham’s Covenant (CD 16:4-6 and Related Texts),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty*, ed. Robert A. Kugler and Eileen M. Schuller (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 167–184; Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), esp. 107–108.

(4) So Armin Lange, “The Essene Position on Divination and Magic,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues*, ed. Moshe J. Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen, STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 377–435, at 431. This song may be first in the series witnessed by 4Q510, if frg. 1 comes from the beginning of the scroll. In 4Q511, however, it appears to have been located at a much later point, since according to Angel, “Material Reconstruction,” 48–53 and 80, frg. 10 is identified as the lower part of the eleventh of sixteen columns of the original scroll.

- [...] לילית אחים ו[...] (d) X, Y, Lilith, Z and [...]  
 [...] והפונעים פתע פתאום <sup>6</sup> [...] (e) [...] and who strike all of the sudden  
לתעות רוח בינה in order to lead astray the spirit of  
 intelligence.

The speaker presents himself by his official designation (a), asserting a professional authority. Then, he denotes the type of speech act constituted by the text, defining it as a performative utterance: (b) the content is a praise of God, (c) but its function is to ward off evil spirits. Finally, several kinds of such spirits are detailed and named (d–e) for the sake of “full insurance,” that is, ensuring the broadest coverage of the anti-demonic protection. This short study focuses on the first items of the list contained in element (d), marked as “X” and “Y” in the English translation.

## 2. Previous Discussion

In the *editio princeps*, Maurice Baillet expressed the opinion that the two words שדאים should be regarded as one word, שדאים, and understood as a Qumranic variant of שדים “demons.” (5) In his opinion, though, the space inserted into the originally single word is not incidental; rather, it highlights the letters אים, which invoke a root meaning “to be terrible, to terrify.” (6) Subsequent scholars were not much convinced by this latter explanation, but Baillet’s contention that we have here a single word, a plural form of שד, was widely accepted and it may be seen as the “standard view” of the matter. (7)

More recently, however, an alternative view has emerged. In his comprehensive edition of the Qumran scrolls, Elisha Qimron followed the standard view by printing the word as שדאים, thus guiding the reader to read the two words as one. Furthermore, he notes in the apparatus that שדים = שדאים. But he also notes, very briefly, an alternative interpretation of Chanan Ariel and Alexey Yuditsky, who read here שדאים. (8) The two options are also recorded in the Göttingen dictionary

(5) Baillet, DJD 7, 216: “שדאים שד אים en deux mots, pour שדאים, graphie qumrânienne pour שדים.” In his French translation, he accordingly represents the term by “démons.”

(6) Baillet, DJD 7, 217: “Ici la graphie semble destinée à marquer le caractère terrifiant des démons, la racine אים signifiant ‘avoir peur’.”

(7) Cf., e.g., Bennie H. Reynolds, “What are Demons of Error? The Meaning of שד and Israelite Child Sacrifice,” *RdQ* 22 (2006): 593–614, at 609: “the context makes clear that the masculine, plural form of the noun שד is intended.”

(8) Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2013), 316, note on line 5 (and hence also in *Ma’agarim*, the online database of the Historical Dictionary of the Academy of Hebrew Language in Jerusalem).

of Qumran Hebrew, which accordingly assigns an independent entry for **א**, rendering it as “howler” and explaining that it refers to a type of demon. (9) This new reading was taken up by Eibert Tigchelaar. (10) He explicitly rejects the standard view that **שד אים** should be read as a single word on linguistic grounds, noting that the **אים**-ending is only found when the *aleph* is a radical or a glide marker (as in **גואים** or **לריאים**). He further suggests that the two words can be vocalized either as **שד אים** “terrible demon” or **שד אים** “demon, hyenas”, and bolsters the latter option by noting that the form **איים** “hyenas” is documented in biblical Hebrew (Isa 13:22; 34:14; Jer 50:39), pointing out that it is found in proximity to Lilith in Isa 34:14. Finally, he calls attention to a variant reading of the word in Isa 13:22 (which has **איים** in proximity to **אחים**), for which the scribe of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> first wrote **אם**, but later corrected it to **אים**.

This new line of reasoning is, in our opinion, correct, but the brief treatments surveyed above did not exhaust the philological aspects of the issue and remain inconclusive as to how the text should eventually be read and interpreted. The purpose of this short study is to fill in these lacunae by exploring the linguistic background of the words in question on the one hand, and elaborating on the significance of the intertextual relation between the passage under review and the Isaiah proof-texts on the other hand. These additional considerations not only supply support for—and fuller understanding of—the enigmatic reading **שד אים** but also uncover a hitherto underappreciated development in the history of Jewish demonological interpretation of Hebrew Scriptures.

### 3. Philological Analysis

#### 3.1 Orthography

It should be stressed, at the outset, that the standard view that takes the words in question as **שדאים**, i.e., an allomorph of **שדים**, is linguistically implausible. Among the Qumran scrolls, the plural termination **אים** occurs only with nouns ending in a vowel (or diphthong), e.g.,

(9) Reinhard G. Kratz, Annette Steudel, and Ingo Kottsieper, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Wörterbuch zu den Texten vom Toten Meer*, vol. 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 76–77, s.v. **א** II.

(10) Eibert Tigchelaar, “Evil Spirits in the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Brief Survey and Some Perspectives,” in *Dualismus, Dämonologie und diabolische Figuren: Religionshistorische Beobachtungen und theologische Reflexionen*, ed. Jörg Frey and Enno E. Popkes, WUNT 484 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 125–135, at 128, n. 13.

אִי “coastland,” גִּיר “people, nation,” etc. (11) This is most common with adjectives (mostly gentilics) marked by the \*/-iy/ ending in the singular: thus the plural of כְּתִי—originally designating a person from Kition, i.e., the Phoenician colony in Cyprus—in biblical Hebrew is either כְּתִים (e.g., Gen 10:4 || 1 Chr 1:7; Isa 23:1) or כְּתִיִּים (e.g., Jer 2:10), (12) but the latter alternates in Qumran Hebrew with כְּתִיָּים (e.g., 1QpHab II 12, 14 vs. 1QM I 2, 4, 6). (13)

These spellings reflect different treatments of the sequence of four homo-organic sounds in /-iyyi(m)/, resulting from the adjectival marker /-iy/ followed by the plural morpheme /-īm/. Hebrew speakers had difficulties with the pronunciation of such a sequence, leading them to resolve it in various ways: (a) it may be preserved intact; (b), it may contract into one long or even extra-long vowel, i.e., /-îm/ or /-iîm/; or (c) the sequence may undergo dissimilation, in which /-iyyim/ is simplified to /-i'im/, with a glide taking the place of the geminated semi-vowel. Generally speaking, treatment (b) typifies biblical Hebrew, (14) whereas (c) is characteristic of Qumran Hebrew. (15) One possible

(11) We prefer this formulation over Tigchelaar’s explanation that “nowhere else do we find אִים endings, unless אִ is part of the root, or as marker of a glide (לִיָּאִים, לְגִאִים).” While this description is factually correct, we believe that the above formulation pinpoints more accurately the conditioning factor that governs the distribution of the morpheme in question.

(12) Note the inner-Masoretic interchange between the two forms in Isa 23:12 and Ezek 27:6. The orthography of masculine plural nouns in \*/-iy/ is inconsistent among the manuscripts and editions consulted by Benjamin Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum*, II (Oxford: Clarendon, 1776); Giovanni B. de Rossi, *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, III (Parma, 1786). The homonym אִי “island”, for example, is written אִים, with single *yod* in the plural absolute in, e.g., Isa 40:15 (Kennicott 258, 260), Ezek 26:18 (Kennicott 116, 168, 226), Ezek 27:3 (Kennicott 252), and Ps 72:10 (Kennicott 216; cf. צִי in Isa 13:21 Kennicott 21; Ps 72:9 Kennicott 80, 222, 253), where Codex Leningrad has אִיִּים.

(13) Aaron D. Hornkohl, “Diachronic Exceptions in the Comparison of Tiberian and Qumran Hebrew: The Preservation of Early Linguistic Features in Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Hebrew,” in *The Reconfiguration of Hebrew in the Hellenistic Period*, ed. Jan Joosten, Daniel Machiela, and Jean-Sébastien Rey, STDJ 124 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 61–92, esp. 86–91, provides a detailed exposition of the various spellings and their distribution in the pertinent Hebrew corpora.

(14) See, e.g., Emil F. Kautzsch (ed.), *Gesenius’ Hebrew Grammar*, 2nd ed., trans. Arthur E. Cowley (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 241, §87a; Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, SB 27 (Rome: Gregorian and Biblical Press, 2011), 248, §90b.

(15) As with any generalization, however, some exceptions occur. Thus a dissimilated form such as הַגִּירָאִים, designating Arabian tribesmen descending from Hagar, occurs sporadically already within late biblical Hebrew (1 Chr 5:10, 19, 20; contrast the standard form הַגִּרָּים in Ps 83:7), and the contracted form אִם /îm/—corrected to the *plene* spelling אִים /i'im/—occurs in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> for MT’s אִיִּים /iyyīm/, plural of /îy/ (< \*îy(y)) in Isa 13:22.

solution based on this synchronic description is that the biblical and Qumran Hebrew treatments are mutually exclusive, suggesting dialectal differentiation between them. But it is more likely that they are dependent one upon the other: the Qumran Hebrew form might well result from a secondary breaking of the double-peaked syllable underlying the biblical Hebrew form: /-iim/ > /-i'im/. In that case, Qumran Hebrew reflects a typologically later stage compared to biblical Hebrew. This diachronic trajectory is corroborated by the fact that the few occurrences of the dissimilatory treatment in biblical Hebrew are all concentrated in the later books, indisputably composed in the Second Temple period. (16)

Be that as it may, the spelling **אִים** for the masculine plural morpheme is not expected with nouns ending in a consonant such as **שָׂד**, as the plural forms of such nouns are universally spelled as **ִים** in Qumran Hebrew. (17) And indeed, the standard plural form **שָׂדִים** is found elsewhere among the Dead Sea Scrolls (4Q386 1 iii 4; 11Q11 II 3, 4), whereas a form such as **שָׂדִאִים** is nowhere else attested.

### 3.2 *Lexis and Intertextuality*

While these considerations favor the reading of **שָׂד אִים** as two distinct words, they do not determine how to vocalize the second word and how to construe the syntactical relation between the two. Such decisions, however, are facilitated by the literary fact that two of the other terms in the immediate context, namely **לִילִית** and **אֲחִים**, are drawn from specific scriptural passages. Since these terms are *hapax legomena* in the Hebrew Bible, they probably allude to two specific prophetic depictions of the utter desolation of currently bustling countries, Babylonia (Isa 13:19-22) and Edom (Isa 34:8-15), rendering them inhabitable only for wild beasts. Most pertinent are the following passages: (18)

(16) Cf. Edward Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>)*, STDJ 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 511–515. For a somewhat different opinion, see Elisha Qimron, *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2018), 351–353, §E 4 (cf. p. 97, §A 9.1, note 1).

(17) Qimron, who was well aware of this grammatical difficulty, considers the theoretical possibility that the form **שָׂדִאִים** goes back to an Aramaic-like form **שָׂדִי\*** (Qimron, *Hebrew Writings*, 2:316, note on line 5). But this is tenuous, since such a form is otherwise unattested in either Hebrew or Aramaic. (In our opinion, both the divine name **שָׂדִי** and the form *šdyn* attested in the plaster inscriptions from Deir 'Alla—whose language is neither Hebrew nor Aramaic—are not directly relevant for our present concern).

(18) The English translation adapts the NRSV, with some modifications. Renditions of the various zoological terms should be taken *cum grano salis*, as the classification and exact identification of some of the creatures named in these passages is debatable. See, e.g., Manfred Görg, “‘Dämonen’ statt ‘Eulen’ in Jes 13,21,” *BN* 62 (1992): 16–17; Vincent Tanghe, “Lilit in Edom (Jes 34,5-15),” *ETL* 69 (1993): 125–133; Peter

Isa 13:21-22 וְרָצוּ-שָׁם צִיִּים וּמִלְאֵן בְּתֵיחָם אֲחִים וְשָׁכְנוּ שָׁם בְּנוֹת יַעֲנָה וְשַׁעֲרֵיהֶם  
יִרְקְדוּ-שָׁם: וַעֲנָה אִיִּים בְּאַלְמוֹנוֹתָיו וְתַנִּים בְּהִיכְלֵי עֲנָנִים

But *wild animals* will lie down there, and their houses will be full of *howling creatures*; there *ostriches* will live, and there *goats* will leap about. *Hyenas* will cry in its towers, and *jackals* in the pleasant palaces.

Isa 34:13-14 וְעֲלְתָה אֲרָמְנוֹתֶיהָ סִירִים קָמוּשׁ וְחוֹזֶה בְּמִכְצָרֶיהָ וְהָיְתָה נוֹה תַנִּים הָצִיר  
לְבָנוֹת יַעֲנָה: וּפָגְשׁוּ צִיִּים אֶת-אִיִּים וְשַׁעֲרֵי עִלְיָרְעָהוּ יִקְרָא אֶחָד-שָׁם  
הַרְגִיעָה לִילִית וּמִצָּאָהּ לָהּ מְנוּחַ:

Thorns shall grow over its strongholds, nettles and thistles in its fortresses. It shall be the haunt of *jackals*, an abode for *ostriches*. *Wildcats* shall meet with *hyenas*, *goats* shall call to each other; there too *Lilith* shall repose, and find a place to rest.

Even though the two passages concern the destiny of two different places, they describe the results of their destruction in very similar terms. Most significantly, they list an almost identical host of creatures, whose invasion into the ruins signifies the absence of human inhabitants: *ציים*, *איים*, *תנים*, *בנות יענה* and *שעיר(ים)*. In addition, each passage offers its own *hapax legomenon*: Isa 13:21 introduces the *אחים*, while Isa 34:14 has *לילית*. The fact that these latter two terms, which are uniquely attested in these passages, reappear side by side in 4Q510 1 5 strongly indicates that underlying its list of demons is an exegetical tradition that conflates the scriptural passages of Isa 13:21-22 and 34:13-14. Such a tradition is indeed recorded in early rabbinic literature, where it is intrinsically related to the realm of demonology. This exegetical tradition is decisive for determining the correct reading and interpretation of *שד אים* in the *Songs of the Sage*.

The earliest attestation outside the *Songs of the Sage* of an exegetical tradition in which the two passages from Isaiah are conflated is probably Targum Jonathan. The appearance of the relatively uncommon verb “to play” (חוך) with the noun “demon” (שד), which occurs only in these two verses in Targum Jonathan, strongly suggests that the Targumist has translated Isa 13:21 and 34:14 in light of one another (see further below). Given the similarity in theme and lexicon between the two passages in the underlying Hebrew, this would not be unexpected. One suspects that the translation of both passages has also been influenced by Targum Onkelos to Lev 17:7 through ‘associative translation’. (19)

J. Atkins, “Mythology or Zoology: A Study on the Impact of Translation History in Isaiah 13:21,” *BibInt* 24 (2016): 48–59.

(19) Philip S. Alexander, “Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient*

Within the rabbinic corpus, these two verses (Isa 13:21; 34:14) are also read together and given an explicitly demonological interpretation in the Tannaitic work, *Sifre Deuteronomy*. *Sifre Deuteronomy* §306 contains various interpretations of Deut 32:2; one of these concerns the hemistich **שְׁעִיר עַלִי דָשָׁא**, and explains that the enigmatic term **שְׁעִיר**—which, contextually, seems to denote a form of precipitation (20)—actually refers to a demon of some sort (**וְאֵין שְׁעִיר אֵלָּא שָׂדֶה**). (21) This is demonstrated on the basis of comparison with two other passages, namely, Isa 34:14 (**וּפְנֵשׁוּ צִיִּים אֶת אֵיִם וְשְׁעִיר אֶל רֶעֱהוּ יִקְרָא**) and 13:21 (**וְאֹמֵר: וְשְׁעִירִים יִרְקְדוּ שָׁם**). (22) Tellingly, the exegete refrains from relying solely on Isa 34:14 and its conspicuous reference to Lilith, which is a well-known demonic being in both ancient Near Eastern sources as well as rabbinic literature. (23) In fact, he avoids mentioning Lilith at all, unexpectedly adducing its support from the juxtaposition of Isa 34:14 and 13:21. This Midrash, then, would only make sense on the exegete's assumption that the other beings named in these passages are unambiguous demonological terms. Thus, even though this source focuses on the term **שְׁעִיר**, it indirectly confirms that the two passages from Isaiah were read together as referring to various classes of demons.

This exegetical tradition was hitherto restricted to rabbinic literature, but the *Songs of the Sage* testifies that it is indeed rooted in the Second Temple period. At the same time, *Sifre* now allows for the assumption

*Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin J. Mulder, CRINT 2 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 217–254, esp. 226–227; Michael L. Klein, “Associative and Complementary Translation in the Targumim,” in *Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical, and Geographical Studies: H. M. Orlinsky Volume*, ed. Baruch A. Levine and Abraham Malamat, *Erlsr* 16 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1982), 134–140; Hector M. Patmore, *Adam, Satan, and the King of Tyre*, *Jewish and Christian Perspectives* 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 110–112.

(20) Etymologically, this **שְׁעִיר** is akin to **שְׁעָרָה** “storm” (e.g., Nah 1:3; also spelled **סְעָרָה**, e.g., Isa 29:6), ultimately going back to Proto-Semitic \*š-š-r. It bears no historical connection to **שְׁעִיר** “goat” (e.g., Gen 37:31), itself related to **שְׂעִיר** “hair,” which presumably originates in Proto-Semitic \*š-š-r (\*š or \*ē has been suggested to be an affricate counterpart of the voiceless lateral \*š or \*f). The term **שְׁעִירִים** in reference to heathen deities (Lev 17:7; 2 Chr 11:15) is commonly connected to the second group of words, presumably denoting “goat-demons” or the like, but it may well relate to the first group, referring to “storm-gods.”

(21) Cf. LXX Isa 13:21; 34:14, in both of which δαιμόνιον “demon” is employed. In both cases, the exact relation of the translation to its Hebrew *Vorlage* is, however, complicated.

(22) Haim S. Horovitz and Louis Finkelstein, *Sifre on Deuteronomy* (Berlin, 1939; repr. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1969), 338.

(23) See, e.g., Manfred Hutter, “Lilith,” in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd ed., ed. Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 520–521.



that the terms **אֵיִם** and **אֵיִים** were also part of the demonological terminology of the time, (24) thereby tipping the balance in favor of accepting the identification of 4Q510's **אֵיִם** with Isaiah's **אֵיִם**. This would also explain the orthographic identity between the spelling of the word in 4Q510 and the corrected form of its occurrence in Isa 13:22 according to 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, both of which apparently reflect the contracted pronunciation /ʕim/.

### 3.3 Syntax and Literary Structure

Finally, the syntax of **שֵׁד אֵיִם** should be clarified: Do these words function as a construct phrase ("hyenas-demon") or should they be divorced from one another as independent items in the list of demons ("demon, hyenas")? In order to answer this question, the internal literary structure of the list should first be analyzed.

The list can be viewed as comprising of three parts. First, it is introduced by a generalization: **כֹּל רוּחַי מִלֹּאכֵי חֶבֶל וְרוּחוֹת מִמְּזוֹרִים** ("all spirits of the angels of destruction and spirits of bastards." Second, it contains an itemized listing of some classes of demons, which, unfortunately, is partly damaged (as one or two words at the end of line 5 are now lost): [...]**שֵׁד אֵיִם לִילִית אַחִים**ו. Third, the list concludes with a general description of the malevolent power of such entities: **וְהַפְּנִיעִים** [...] **פָּתַע פְּתָאוֹם לְתַעֲוֵת רוּחַ בִּינָה** "[...] and who strike all of the sudden, in order to lead astray the spirit of intelligence," i.e., depriving people of their sense of understanding. (25)

Tellingly, the first and third parts employ terminology recurring verbatim in other parts of the *Songs of the Sage* or elsewhere in sectarian literature. The "angels of destruction" (**מִלֹּאכֵי חֶבֶל**) are familiar from 1QS IV 12 and CD<sup>a</sup> II 6, where their role is to punish the wicked. Elsewhere (e.g., 1QM XIII 12) they are identified as spirits of the Belial's lot, who attack the righteous in order to lead them astray. The "spirits of bastards" (**רוּחוֹת מִמְּזוֹרִים**) appear again elsewhere in the fragments of the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q511 35 7; cf. 4Q511 49+51 ii 2-3; 182 1)

(24) This conclusion is particularly interesting with respect to **אַחִים**, since a class of demons by this name is unknown from later Jewish demonology. Indeed, even the ancient versions testify to an alternative interpretation of this word. LXX Isa 13:21 renders it with ἦχος "sound, noise, roar" (normally a standard equivalent of **הַמָּקוֹם**), and the Peshitta translates it as **בִּנְעָלָה**. Do these renditions reflect an exegetical tradition deriving **אַחִים** from the interjection **אָח** (e.g., Ezek 6:11)?

(25) Syntactically, the itemized list of demons in the second part is an appositive of the generalized noun phrase of the first part (itself functioning as the direct object of the verbs **וְלִפְּחָד וְלִבְּהֵל**). The third part may continue the list of demons of the second part, but more likely it functions as an attributive, i.e., it is a relative clause, marked as such by the definite article of **וְהַפְּנִיעִים**. On this point, see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 240 n. 53.

and other sectarian works (1QH<sup>a</sup> XXIV 26). (26) Similarly, the descriptions of the striking forces are virtually identical to sectarian designations: פוגעות פתע פתאום (1QH<sup>a</sup> IV 17), (27) תועי רוח בינה (1QS XI 1). Significantly, none of these terms and epithets bears any connection to the book of Isaiah. In contradistinction, the vocabulary of the second part is unparalleled in any other work found in Qumran, while its dependence on the aforementioned passages of Isaiah is evident. (28) It stands to reason, therefore, that the itemized part of the list represents a sectarian adaptation of an originally independent list of demonic beings, itself derived from an exegetical tradition. In other words, the second part forms the core of the list, but by itself it may—but need not—be sectarian in origin.

Of the four surviving items of the core list, three are clearly derived from Isaiah: אים depends on אים of both Isa 13:22 and 34:14, לילית comes from Isa 34:14, and אהים originates in Isa 13:21. (29) The term שד is seemingly alien to these passages, since it is documented in the Hebrew Bible only in Deut 32:17 and Ps 106:37 (both in the plural). Its Aramaic cognate, however, is employed twice in Targum Jonathan, and both occurrences are restricted to Isa 13:21 and 34:14 for rendering the Hebrew term שָׁעִיר (30)

Isa 13:21	MT	וּשְׁעִירִים יִרְקְדוּ שָׁם	And goats will dance there.
	TJ	וְשִׂידִין יְחִיכֹן תָּמָן	And demons play there.
Isa 34:14	MT	וְשָׁעִיר עַל רֵעֵהוּ יִקְרָא	And one goat will call to the other.
	TJ	וְשִׂידִין חֵד עִם חֲבֵרֵיהּ יְחִיכֹן	Demons play with one another.

(26) Cf. Giovanni Ibba, “The Evil Spirits in Jubilees and the Spirit of the Bastards in 4Q510 with Some Remarks on Other Qumran Manuscripts,” *Henoch* 31 (2009): 111–116.

(27) The verb פגע appears to function as a technical term for denoting demonic attack. Already Baillet called attention to *David’s Compositions* (11QPs<sup>a</sup> XXVII 9–10), which mentions שיר לנגן על הפגועים, possibly referring to a genre of apotropaic poetry of the sort represented by the *Songs of the Sage* of 4Q510 and 4Q511 or the Apocryphal Psalms of 11Q11. Other interpretations of פגועים, however, are also possible.

(28) Note that other allusions to Isaiah are embedded in the *Songs of the Sage*, e.g., 4Q510 I 6 || 4Q511 X 2–3 (cf. Isa 29:24); 4Q511 30 4–6 (cf. Isa 40:12–13).

(29) Note that the defective spelling of אהים in the MT is matched not only by the identical spelling in 4Q510 I 5 but also by 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, which otherwise tends towards *plene* orthography. These data suggest that word was pronounced with a non-round vowel, contrary to the Tiberian vocalization אהים (and this may well underlie the possible derivation from אה, as proposed above in n. 24).

(30) For fuller discussion of Targum Jonathan’s treatment of these passages see Hector M. Patmore, “Demons and Biblical Exegesis: Tradition and Innovation in Targum Jonathan to 2 Sam. 22.5; Isa. 13.21; 34.14; Hab. 3.5,” in *Das Böse, der Teufel und Dämonen*, ed. Jan Dochhorn, Susanne Rudnig-Zelt, and Benjamin Wold, WUNT 412 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 189–206, esp. 193–196.

Scholars have already noted the tendency, recorded in various works found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, to allude to certain scriptural passages by making use of the vocabulary of their Aramaic translations. It is difficult to know whether ancient authors were relying on an established tradition of a continuous translation (a “proto-Targum” of a sort) or whether they reflect *ad hoc* lexical equations that could be expected in a bilingual society comprised of native speakers of both Hebrew and Aramaic, as was the Jewish society of Greco-Roman Palestine. (31) In either case, it is quite possible that the term שד is also rooted in the Isaiah passages, but not in its Hebrew text but rather in its Aramaic form.

If this suggestions is correct, then it offers an explanation for a small yet annoying grammatical detail, namely, the fact that שד is apparently a singular form, in contrast to the rest of the demonological terms in this passage, all of which are in the plural except לילית. (32) The singular form betrays dependence on Isa 34:14, in which MT (supported by 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>) also features the singular form שעיר, whereas 13:21 employs the plural form שעירים. A dependence on Isa 34:14 is further corroborated by the term לילית—also in the singular!—which was drawn from the same specific proof-text, namely, Isa 34:14. One may determine, therefore, that שד אים does not constitute a construct phrase but rather two independent nouns. Thus, in the sequence שד אים לילית אחים, the relation between שד (sg) and אים (pl) is identical to that between the immediately following two items לילית (sg) and אחים (pl).

(31) See, e.g., Jan Joosten, “How Old is the Targumic Tradition? Traces of the Jewish Targum in the Second Temple Period, and vice versa,” in *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions; Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot*, ed. Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo Torijano Morales (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 143–159.

(32) We take שד to be a singular form, at its face value. An alternative, but less likely explanation is to take שד as a phonetic spelling of the plural construct שדי. A typical feature of Qumran Hebrew is the weakening of gutturals in general and of the glottal stop in particular; if so, the construct phrase שדי אים might have been pronounced as something like *šedê-îm*, with the final vowel of the construct form attaching to the following vowels (or being omitted altogether). The resulting crasis could well have been represented orthographically by omitting the final *yod* of the *nomen regens*. This can be compared to the spellings of the masculine form of the compound numeral “sixteen” in ancient Hebrew. Its canonical form in biblical Hebrew is שִׁשָּׁה עָשָׂר *šiššā ʿāšār*. In Qumran Hebrew, however, the loss of the pharyngeal fricative resulted in crasis (*šiššā-āšār* > \**šiššāāšār*), most probably simplified to *šišš-āšār*. The latter pronunciation is witnessed by the phonetic spelling שש אשר (MMT A = 4Q394 1–2 iv 3), in which both the final vowel of the *nomen regens* and the original consonantal onset of the *nomen rectum* are no longer represented orthographically. This analogy, as phonetically partial as it may be, suggests that an interpretation of שד as a phonetic spelling of the plural construct is not impossible. However, it entails some complications that we judge to be unnecessary, and the data can be explained in an easier and more compelling way as proposed above.

## Conclusion

This study sought to clarify the demonological terminology employed in one of the *Songs of the Sage* (4Q510 1 4-6) by offering philological analysis of two words whose reading and understanding have been debated in scholarship. Our analysis enabled us to confirm some options suggested in the past while refuting others, and adds greater understanding and clarity to the specific solutions we support by introducing several new insights.

We first demonstrated that the reading שדאים is linguistically indefensible and that that text in question must indeed be read as שדאים. We then explored the intertextual relation between the relevant line and Isa 13:21-22 and 34:13-14, which enable the unambiguous identification of שדאים with the scriptural אַיִים and of שד as the Aramaic representation of שָׂעִיר. We further uncovered an exegetical trajectory of demonological interpretation of the various zoological terms embedded in these passages, particularly אַיִים and אַחִים, and demonstrated that this particular line of exegesis is shared with early rabbinic literature and may therefore be pre-sectarian in origin—a hypothesis also corroborated by literary-historical analysis of the structure and composition of the pertinent passage in the *Songs of the Sage* (thereby also clarifying the syntax of the segment under investigation). Thus, in addition to the elucidation of a passage of the Dead Sea Scrolls that had been perceived as ambiguous and even enigmatic, our discussion also sheds light on the broader cultural tradition of which this text forms part, namely, the history of ancient Jewish demonology and its dependence on biblical interpretation.

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# RECONSTRUCTING THE CALENDAR OF 4Q208–4Q209 (AND A RESPONSE TO ESHBAL RATZON)

## *Summary*

This study mathematically reconstructs 4QAstronomical Enoch<sup>a-b</sup> ar (4Q208–4Q209) in detail. The findings challenge the recently proposed reconstruction of 4Q209 by Eshbal Ratzon as a full triennial cycle (with a synchronized lunar and solar year), known from the Judean Hebrew calendrical texts found in Qumran (in contrast to Milik's proposal that the texts represented the first year of a triennial cycle). This reconstruction demonstrates that the Aramaic fragments more accurately match one single synchronized year which is not connected with a triennial cycle. It identifies the placement of certain fragments containing relevant data according to a scheme founded on contemporaneous ancient astronomy in the region and that of another Qumran Aramaic calendrical text. The study finds that the Aramaic calendar of 4Q208–4Q209 should be analyzed on its own terms.

## *Résumé*

Cette étude reconstruit mathématiquement 4QAstronomical Enoch<sup>a-b</sup> ar (4Q208–4Q209) en détail. Les résultats contestent la reconstruction proposée récemment par Eshbal Ratzon du 4Q209 en tant que cycle triennal complet (avec une année lunaire et solaire synchronisée), connue des textes calendaires hébreux de Judée trouvés à Qumran (contrairement à la proposition de Milik selon laquelle les textes représentaient la première année d'un cycle triennal). Cette reconstruction démontre que les fragments araméens correspondent plus précisément à une année synchronisée unique qui n'est pas liée à un cycle triennal. Il identifie l'emplacement de certains fragments contenant des données pertinentes selon un schéma fondé sur l'astronomie ancienne contemporaine de la région et sur celui d'un autre texte calendaire Qumrân Araméen. L'étude conclut que le calendrier araméen du 4Q208–4Q209 au devrait être analysé selon ses propres termes.

THIS study is concerned with the details of the reconstruction of the Aramaic calendar of 4Q208–4Q209 in comparison to existing studies on the manuscripts. Jozef T. Milik identified 4QAstronomical Enoch<sup>a-b</sup> as a “synchronistic calendar” in which the moon’s daily phases through each lunar month were harmonized with the sun’s separate, monthly, passage through “gates” from which both the luminaries rose and set. (1) He argued that synchronism was formulated as a triennial cycle consisting of a solar year of 364 days and a lunar year of 354 days composed of fixed 29 and 30 day alternating lunar months with the addition of a 30-day intercalary lunar month every three lunar years. Milik, whose theory was accepted by E. J. C Tigchelaar and F. García Martínez, (2) did not suggest that each year in the triennial cycle was divided into 52 weeks, as it is in the Hebrew calendrical texts. (3)

In Milik’s view, based on the extant amount of materiality in 4Q208–4Q209, it was likely that the manuscripts contained the first year of such a triennial cycle, that the second and third years were abbreviated and survived in a corrupted form in sections of 1 En. 73, 1 En. 74 and 1 En. 79. (4) He did not propose that the synchronistic calendar of 4Q208–4Q209 itself was included in the Ethiopic Astronomical Book. Drawnel states that 1 En. 73:4–8 refers to the

(1) J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 274 (formerly 4QEnastr<sup>a</sup> and Enastr<sup>b</sup>).

(2) E. J. C. Tigchelaar and F. García Martínez, “208–209. 4QAstronomical Enoch ar: Introduction,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellaneous Part 1*, ed. S. J. Pfann and P. Alexander et al., DJD XXXVI (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 96.

(3) The 364/354 day synchronistic and triennial cycles known from the Hebrew calendrical scrolls including the *mišmarot* 4Q320, 4Q321, and 4Q321a are heptadic and reference the Sabbaths and festivals. The synchronistic calendar in 4QcryptA Phases of the Moon (4Q317) is also divided into 52 weeks and references the weekly Sabbaths but the text is too fragmentary to provide support for a triennial cycle. There is no textual evidence that 4Q208–4Q209 are heptadic, and the Sabbaths and festivals are not mentioned.

(4) Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 274–275. Note that 1 En. 74:10–17 here cited by Milik is, in fact, a Hellenistic interpolation, see further, O. Neugebauer, *The ‘Astronomical’ Chapters of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (72 to 82): Translation and Commentary*, (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 1981), 16–17. For a commentary on possible overlaps between 1 En. 73, 1 En. 74, and 1 En. 79 and the synchronistic calendar of the Aramaic Astronomical Book, see J. C. VanderKam, “Chapters 72–82: The Book of Luminaries,” in George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch 2: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 37–82* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 429, 432–433, 434, 440, 445, 451 (the discussion on 1 En. 74:12 on p. 451 disregards Neugebauer’s analysis that this section is a later gloss), 515–520.

first two days of a lunar month and “corresponds to the logic of the lunar phases found in Aramaic.” (5) He includes this passage and 1 En. 73:6–7 in his reconstruction of 4Q208–4Q209; (6) however, VanderKam regards Drawnel’s interpretation of these extracts as problematic. (7)

Drawnel rejects Milik’s hypothesis that the “gates” synchronize the solar and lunar calendars, arguing that there is no solar calendar, but that there are similarities with lunar tables that have Babylonian origins. (8) Unlike Milik, Drawnel is not convinced that the months in the texts alternate between full and hollow months and he argues that the gates are cited randomly and thus, do not offer information for the number of days that the moon rises in a particular “gate.” (9) Furthermore, he argues that the Ethiopic Book of Luminaries does not contain a summary of 4Q208–4Q209 because the Qumran texts contain different sets of data. (10) In contrast, Milik further suggested that the gates are only mentioned when the moon (or sun) changes its gates, as implied by the example in the text of 4Q209 7 ii 8. (11) This theory is accepted by VanderKam who concurs that the gate number “provides the dates on which (the moon’s) entry and departure occur. As a result, one can determine from it how long the moon remains in each gate.” (12)

Drawnel detailed two schematic “patterns” from the fragments in 4Q208–4Q209: where there is a 29-day lunar month (a hollow month), the full moon falls on day 14 (“Pattern I”), and in a 30-day lunar month

(5) Henryk Drawnel, *The Aramaic Astronomical Book (4Q208–4Q211) From Qumran: Text Translation and Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1, 2.

(6) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, Appendix IX, 438, 440–441, 446–447.

(7) VanderKam, “Chapters 72–82” in *1 Enoch* 2, 438–439, cf. 436–438. See also, James C. VanderKam, “The Book of Luminaries (Chapters 72–82),” in George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 100 note *n* states that there are “numerous variants” between Ge’ez manuscripts containing 1 En. 73:5–8.

(8) In particular, Enuma Anu Enlil tablet XIV, tables A and B (abbrev. EAE XIV), see Farouk N. H. Al-Rawi and Andrew R. George, “Enūma Anu Enlil XIV and Other Early Astronomical Tables,” *AfO* 38/39 (1991–2): 52–73 (52–56), the tables are for single equinoctial months only; Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 24 n. 91, 47–48, 302–307.

(9) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 293–294.

(10) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 294.

(11) Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 283, see discussion under 4Q209 7 ii (Month IX), below.

(12) VanderKam, “Chapters 72–82,” in *1 Enoch* 2, 444.



(a full month), the full moon occurs on day 15 (“Pattern II”), (13) superceding in detail Tigchelaar and García Martínez’s Scheme I and Scheme II. (14) The 29-day months are even numbered: Months II, IV, VI, VIII, X, and XII and the 30-day months are odd numbered: Months I, III, V, VII, IX and XI.

The moon’s waxing and waning phases are described for each day and night for most of the lunar month in given incremental fractions of sevenths and half-sevenths. In a 29-day month, the first day of the month begins with the first half-seventh ( $0.5/7^{\text{th}}$ ) [one fourteenth] of the waxing moon’s appearance as a schematic thin crescent. Towards the end of the month, the final  $0.5/7^{\text{th}}$  of the moon’s visible surface schematically appears on day 27. In a 30-day month, the first crescent,  $0.5/7^{\text{th}}$ , occurs one day later, from day 2 until day 28 when the last schematic lunar crescent shining at  $0.5/7^{\text{th}}$  is listed and night 29 is described. The fractions of complete brightness and darkness at full moon and conjunction are not used in the fragments, (15) and the description of the final days of the waning moon in the full and hollow months are not extant. (16)

Although the text does not contain the numbers or names of the months (or none has survived), where a day of the lunar month, the gate number and the lunar fractions for the day are extant in a fragment, it is here argued that it is possible to identify whether the month concerned, partly preserved by the day, or days, has 29 or 30 days, and if so, the specific lunar month. This may be partly computed by accepting two key elements of Milik’s hypothesis that the odd and even months alternate and that the new gate numbers are mentioned when the moon moves to a new gate. As this hypothesis contravenes Drawnel’s thinking, when he identifies a day and month in a fragment it is only to state whether it is Pattern I or Pattern II, frequently with a suggestion for a preference for either one where possible, but not the month number. Our model proposes that the day numbers for different months strongly

(13) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 237–243; Appendix I. Pattern I: Full Moon on Day 14, 421–422, and Appendix II. Pattern II: Full Moon on Day 15, 423–424.

(14) Tigchelaar and García Martínez, “208–209,” 97–100.

(15) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, see Tables for Day 14 and Day 29 in Appendix I. Pattern I, 421–422, and Day 15 and Day 30 in Appendix II, 423–424; Tigchelaar and García Martínez, “208–209,” 97, 99, 100.

(16) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 243. The latest days of the month that are extant are contained in 4Q209 frg. 6 which describes the days and nights of 26–29 of a full month when there is no lunar visibility on the evening and morning of night 29 at moonrise when the lunar disk is invisible “hidden with the s[un].” (4Q209 6 9), Drawnel, *Astronomical Book*, 156–159. Night 30 is not preserved.

suggest that the text presupposes a calendar, in contrast to lunar tables with Babylonian origins proposed by Drawnel. Furthermore, the point of having gate numbers in a table of annual lunar visibility is obscure; they clearly serve a purpose.

According to our theory, it may be argued that if the date of the lunar month changes at sunset as presupposed in Table 1, below, the number of the “gate” assigned to the calendrical lunar date in the text should be taken from the gate number from which the moon first sets when it is waxing after sunset, or first rises when it is waning after sunset.

The mathematical pattern in Table 1 is in agreement with Milik’s presupposition that when a gate number is not mentioned when the moon sets or rises, it means that the previous gate number in which the moon rose or set applies. In that sense, the text describes a schematic lunar table from which the synchronistic calendar has to be computed from the data.

Additionally, in keeping with my previous research it is argued that the calendar of 4Q208–4Q209 is related to the only other known Aramaic calendar from Qumran, 4Q318 (4QZodiac Calendar and Brontologion), in which the calendrical component comprises 360 days consisting of 12 months of 30 days each, (17) and that the numerical “gates” of 4Q208–4Q209 are organized in a similar, formulaic pattern to the moon’s monthly journey through the zodiacal signs in 4Q318. (18)

(17) Jonas C. Greenfield and Michael Sokoloff, “318. 4QZodiology and Brontology ar,” in Pfann, Alexander, et al., *Qumran Cave 4. XXVI*, 259–274. The moon moves at about 13° per day, travelling 30° along the ecliptic for each of the thirteen signs in a synodic month, that is, traversing 12 signs plus the first one from which it set out to reach conjunction with the sun at the end of the lunar month, as the sun has apparently moved one zodiacal sign during that period, see Greenfield and Sokoloff, “318,” 271 (by David Pingree, “Astronomical Aspects”). Matthias Albani, “Der Zodiakos in 4Q318 und die Henoch-Astronomie,” *Mitteilungen und Beiträge der Forschungsstelle Judentum der Theologischen Fakultät Leipzig* 7 (1993): 3–42, Helen R. Jacobus, *Zodiac Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Reception: Ancient Astronomy and Astrology in Early Judaism*, IJS 14 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 1–4, 44–176. Although the sun is not mentioned, 4Q318 works as luni-solar calendar, see eadem, “A Jewish Zodiac Calendar at Qumran?” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*, ed. Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 365–395.

(18) Jacobus, *Zodiac Calendars*, 260–262, 283–343. For a summary of the theory, see Helen R. Jacobus, “Astral Divination in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Hellenistic Astronomy: The Science in Its Contexts*, ed. Alan C. Bowen and Francesca Rochberg (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming). The final formation of the zodiac is dated to c. 400 BCE, John P. Britton, “Studies in Babylonian Lunar Theory: Part III. The Introduction of the Uniform Zodiac,” *Archive for the History of the Exact Sciences* 64 (2010): 617–663. (I have changed “Zodiology” to “Zodiac Calendar” as the latter is the more accurate

The moon changes its sign in a two day-two day-three-day recurring pattern in the latter Aramaic calendar, reflecting the average number of days that the moon takes to move into a different sign of the zodiac (which is a little less than two and half days). (19)

In brief, according to the study, the gate numbers in 4Q208–4Q209 follow the order of the months/zodiacal signs arranged in pairs equidistant from the solstices, with each one in a pair having the same gate number. The system uses a form of zodiacal sign–month–number substitution known from Mesopotamian astrological texts that have been published since earlier scholars first mooted that the “gates” in the Ethiopic Astronomical Book of Enoch represented the zodiacal signs. (20) However, as with 1 En. 72, rather than beginning at Gate 1, the sun rises in the first month in Gate 4, and also in the sixth month in Gate 4. By using this system it is possible to restore their sequence. Hence, the six dual gate numbers from Gate 1 to Gate 6 in 4Q208–4Q209 follow the order of the 12 zodiacal signs using the scheme whereby the signs are substituted for the six gate numbers. (21)

The lunar “gates” in the reconstruction in Table 1, below, are arranged in a schematic pattern of two days, two days, two days then

description. The noun “zodiac” can also be used an adjective; it is not necessary to change it to “zodiacal” although some scholars prefer to do so. I employ this usage to avoid semantic arguments, but “zodiac signs” is perfectly correct and less likely to be confused with the unequally-sized “zodiacal constellations”).

(19) Therefore, the averaged-out pattern of the moon’s stay in each zodiacal sign for the first month is (as reconstructed from the preserved text): Nisan: Day 1: Taurus, 2. Taurus (two days), 3. Gemini, 4. Gemini (two days), 5. Cancer, 6. Cancer, 7. Cancer (three days), 8. Leo, 9. Leo (two days), 10. Virgo, 11. Virgo (two days), 12. Libra, 13. Libra, 14. Libra (three days), 15. Scorpio, 16. Scorpio (two days), 17. Sagittarius, 18. Sagittarius (two days), 19. Capricorn, 20. Capricorn, 21. Capricorn (three days), 22. Aquarius, 23. Aquarius (two days), 24. Pisces, 25. Pisces (two days), 26. Aries, 27. Aries, 28. Aries (three days), 29. Taurus, 30. Taurus (two days). The scheme is the same in each month, the moon moves forward by one sign for each day correlative to the same day in the previous month, see Jacobus, *Zodiac Calendars*, 51 (Table 1.1.3), 168–175.

(20) For example, see the texts discussed in Lis Brack-Bernsen and John M. Steele, “Babylonian Mathemagics: Two Astronomical-Astrological Texts,” in *Studies in the History of the Exact Sciences in Honour of David Pingree*, ed. Charles Burnett et al., IPTSTS 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 95–121; A Ungnad, “Besprechungskunst und Astrologie in Babylonien,” *AfO* 14 (1941–44): 251–284; JoAnne Scurlock, “Sorcery in the Stars: STT 300, BRM 4. 19–20,” *AfO* 51 (2005–06): 125–146. For a summary of the historical background to this interpretation with respect to the Ethiopic Book of Luminaries, see Jacobus, *Zodiac Calendars*, 263–268. For its reconsideration the light of the Aramaic fragments and research on ancient Near Eastern astronomy, see Jacobus, *Zodiac Calendars*, 268–283; Eshbal Ratzon, “The Gates Cosmology of the Astronomical Book of Enoch,” *DSD* 22 (2015): 93–111.

(21) Thus, Gate 4: Aries and Virgo; Gate 5: Taurus and Leo; Gate 6: Gemini and Cancer; Gate 3: Libra and Pisces; Gate 2: Scorpio and Aquarius; Gate 1: Sagittarius and Capricorn.

three days in the 29 and 30-day months, which is a variation on the pattern in 4Q318, averaging out the days taken for the moon to change signs. The table includes the parallel signs of the zodiac although they are absent in 4Q208–4Q209, so that the table is easier to follow.

One of the major differences between Milik's hypothesis and that of Table 1 is that 4Q208–4Q209 here consists of the harmonization of the 354-day lunar calendar of alternating full and hollow months and an ideal 360-day solar year, (22) not a 364-day solar year. Rather than synchronized into a triennial cycle, as it is not a heptadic, liturgical calendar containing the days of the week, I have proposed elsewhere that 4Q208–4Q209 is not simply ideal, but that it can be used with the 19-year cycle. (23)

Hence, the reconstructed single year shown in Table 1 is rooted in Late Babylonian astronomical-astrological traditions and a related Aramaic zodiacal calendar that is also preserved at Qumran. The science could have been accessible to the compilers of 4Q208–4Q209 through scholarly networks and it belongs to a separate tradition to that of either the Hebrew calendrical texts found at Qumran, proposed by Milik, or EAE XIV, proposed by Drawnel. Furthermore, fragments with data that include the gate number can be placed in the single year, shown below. Taking on board the lunar fractions as set out concisely by Drawnel in his Appendix I and II applied to alternating full and hollow months as additional tools in Table 1, it is evident that in one single year no two days of the year can share precisely the same data in terms of the day of the month, a full or hollow month, the gate number and the lunar fraction (the last is dependent on the first two factors).

Concurring with Milik that 4Q208–4Q209 contains the triennial cycle, Ratzon has proposed that 4Q209 contains fragments for not one year, as Milik proposed, but all three years of the triennial cycle in the 364-day calendar (a possible triennial cycle in 4Q208 is not proposed in this article). (24) In her reconstruction, the six numerical "gates,"

(22) See also, Matthias Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum Astronomischen Henochbuch*, WMANT 68 (Neukirchen-Vlyun: Neukirchener, 1994), 155–191; Lis Brack-Bernsen, "The 360-Year in Mesopotamia," in *Calendars and Years: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient Near East*, ed. John M. Steele (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 83–100.

(23) Jacobus, "Astral Divination", s.v. Glossary: Table 1. "The epochs in select Hellenistic calendars" ("Judaean" note, e); eadem, "Aramaic Calendars and the Question of Divination in Late Second Temple Judaism," in *Divinatory Practices Among Jews*, ed. Josefina Rodríguez-Arribas and Dorian Gieseler-Greenbaum (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

(24) Eshbal Ratzon, "The First Jewish Astronomers: Lunar Theory and the Reconstruction of a Dead Sea Scroll," *Science in Context* 30 (2017): 113–139. Cf. Eshbal Ratzon, "4Q208. A New Reconstruction and its Implications on the Evolution of the Astronomical Book," *RevQ* 31 (2019): 51–110.

representing the rising and setting points of the sun and moon on the horizon change each year for the moon's rising and setting on dates in the 364-day calendar for three years in rotation. Accordingly, due to the nature of the luni-solar synchronistic calendar the same lunar date in the alleged 364-day calendar in the Aramaic Astronomical Book can have a different gate number in each year of the triennial cycle as the 354-day lunar year falls behind the 364-day year by 10 days every year and needs to be compensated by a 30-day lunar month every three years. (25) Her proposal for the Aramaic Astronomical Book, based entirely on her foregoing computations for the later Ethiopic Book of Luminaries, (26) allows for the moon to travel through half a gate each day, that is, "rising twice in each gate before moving onto the next," (27) (it is unclear what she means by this since the moon stays in the first and sixth gate for four days in her reconstruction in Appendix A. (28))

In her proposed restoration of a triennial cycle, fragments of 4Q209 are identified with more than one possible date. For example, her placement of 4Q209 frg. 3 where Gate 3 is extant in the text is ascribed to two separate months optionally, either the fourth or the tenth month in the second year of the proposed triennial cycle, represented as 4/4/02 and 4/10/02, both of which are highlighted in her Appendix A (29) (this fragment is discussed under "4Q209 3: (Gate 3) (Month X, days 1–5), below).

Furthermore, the same day of the month in a full or hollow month may also have the same gate numbers, according to her reconstruction, in different years of the triennial cycle. In these cases, it is not explained why in those instances she chooses one year over another. For instance, she has attributed the date of the moon in Gate 5 (leaving aside its rising or setting, for now) in 4Q209 7 iii to 08/10/01 and to 08/10/02 without explaining why she has ascribed this text to the first year of the triennial cycle rather than to the second (30) (see discussion under "4Q209 7 iii (sun: Gate 1/ moon: Gate 5) (Month X, days 8–10)," below). Similarly, Ratzon attributes the night of the moon in Gate 2 in 4Q209 7 ii to 25/9/01 and not to 25/9/02, that is, to the first year of the triennial cycle and not the second, from the same fragment, also without clarification. Obviously, the dates in both 4Q209 7 ii–iii must be from

(25) Ratzon, "First Jewish Astronomers," 131.

(26) Ratzon, "First Jewish Astronomers," 131.

(27) Ratzon, "First Jewish Astronomers," 132.

(28) Ratzon, "First Jewish Astronomers," 134–137.

(29) Ratzon, "First Jewish Astronomers," 132. Both dates are highlighted in Appendix A, 135.

(30) Ratzon, "First Jewish Astronomers," 132, and Appendix A, 08/10/01 is highlighted, 134, and 08/10/02 is not highlighted, 135.

the same year, but there is no explanation for her choice of years (31) (see “4Q209 7 ii: (Gate [4, 3] 2), Month IX, days 23–27,” below).

Moreover, it is not stated whether her assignation of the gate numbers to dates in her proposed triennial cycle refers to the moonrise or to the moonset when the moon is waxing or waning and if there is a difference in the ascription of the day of the month in relation to the sunrise or sunset. For example, returning to the assignation of the moon in Gate 2 to 25/9/01 in which the waning moon sets in the morning, other scholars, Milik, Tigchelaar and García Martínez, Drawnel, and Jacobus have all attributed the text to the date of 26 IX (see below, as cited above), none of which is acknowledged or discussed by Ratzon.

Furthermore, with respect to her attribution of Gate 5 to 8/10/01, the waxing moon neither rises nor sets in Gate 5 on that date in the text. 4Q209 7 iii 6 states unequivocally that moon sets in Gate 5 for the first time on night 9. The formula for the moonset on day 8 of the month (Month X) is extant without a gate number (4Q209 7 iii 1b), and Ratzon’s assignation of Gate 5 to that date remains unexplained (see below, as cited above).

Ratzon supports her hypothesis by appealing to the work of Wayne Horowitz:

Since according to Wayne Horowitz, the triennial cycle is mentioned in Mesopotamian texts, it is probable that the authors of the Astronomical Book derived an already-developed 364-day year, along with the triennial cycle, from these Mesopotamian texts. (32)

However, there is no reference to the said research. Furthermore, Horowitz’s theory on the 364-day year and the triennial cycle in Mesopotamia is contended by Johannes Koch, a scholarly engagement which Ratzon does not mention at all. (33)

(31) Ratzon, “First Jewish Astronomers,” 132 and Appendix A, 25/9/01 is highlighted, 134, and 25/9/02 is not highlighted, 135.

(32) Ratzon, “First Jewish Astronomers,” 133.

(33) Horowitz argued that not only are 364-day year lengths contained in the astronomical-astrological compendium MUL.APIN and in a Hellenistic-period copy, but that a 364-day stellar year was implied in the second century BCE star list tablet AO 6478, Wayne Horowitz, “Two New Ziqpu-star Texts and Stellar Circles,” *JCS* 46 (1994): 89–98 (esp. 94–96). Furthermore, he contended that the astronomical-astrological compendium MUL.APIN contained a three-year intercalary cycle and that “the Mesopotamian 364 day year” was “the ultimate source for the 364 day year found in the Apocrypha and Qumran texts,” Wayne Horowitz, “The 360 and 364-Day Year in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *JANES* 24 (1996): 35–44 (at 37). Horowitz’s hypothesis has been contested by Johannes Koch who argued that a 360-day year, not one of 364 days is, in fact,

With regards to placing the fragments of 4Q208–4Q209 in their calendrical context, by contrast, it should be emphasised that there is a greater probability of error, and thus, arguably, more precision, in identifying only one day and month to a “gate” to a single year, as in Table 1, than by allocating the fragments to the entire three years of a triennial cycle. In our reconstruction if the day of the month, gate number and a lunar fraction are extant, the month can be identified.

Drawnel does not specify whether he is of the opinion that the text comprises a single year or a triennial cycle; therefore, where the day of the month and the lunar fraction are preserved he identifies whether the month is full or hollow only, as he does not take into account the gate number in the text in order to identify the date within a reconstructive scheme, nor does he propose that the full and hollow months alternate.

#### OUTLINE OF THE ARRANGEMENT OF TABLE 1

The list of fragment placements in Table 1, below, compares the identification of the day and month in this scheme with that of dates for the same fragments proposed by Tigchelaar and García Martínez, Drawnel, and Ratzon. The reconstructed and translated texts for the fragments examined from 4Q208–4Q209 are taken from Drawnel’s editions with some minor modifications that are noted. As stated, Drawnel did not allocate particular numbered months to the fragments, stating only whether

implied in the intercalation schemes in MUL.APIN, and that AO 6478 contains a slightly shorter time, measured in degrees, for the apparent annual circuit of the stars. There was a subsequent debate between Horowitz with Koch; Johannes Koch, “AO 6478, MUL.APIN und das 364-Tage Jahr,” *NABU* (1996): 97–99 (no. 111); Johannes Koch, “Kannte man in Mesopotamien das 364 Tage-Jahr wirklich seit dem 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.?” *NABU* (1997), 109–112 (no. 119); Wayne Horowitz, “The 364-Day Year in Mesopotamia Again,” *NABU* (1998): 49–51 (no. 49); and Johannes Koch, “Ein für allemal: Das antike Mesopotamien kannte kein 364 Tage-Jahr,” *NABU* (1998): 112–114 (no. 121). The discussion is summarised in VanderKam, “Chapters 72–82. The Book of the Luminaries,” in *1 Enoch* 2, 381, and Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 22–23 n. 80. Koch’s stellar calculation has since been supported in John M. Steele, *Rising Time Schemes in Babylonian Astronomy* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2017), 15. Furthermore, the first millennium BCE Mesopotamian arithmetic 364-day year which was arguably in MUL.APIN ii 12, ii 16 (and presupposed a similar equation to that suggested by Milik:  $364 \times 3$  as equivalent to  $354 \times 3 + 30$ ) see, John P. Britton, “Treatments of Annual Phenomena in Cuneiform Sources,” in *Under One Sky: Astronomy and Mathematics in the Ancient Near East*, ed. John M. Steele and Annette Imhausen, AOAT 297 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2002), 23–24, was never heptadic as are the Hebrew calendrical texts and liturgical texts that use the 364-day calendar.



the month was either a 29-day lunar month or a 30-day lunar month. Tigchelaar and García Martínez suggested the numerical month from data in the fragments, where possible, as well as whether it was either a 29-day or 30-day month.

#### 4Q209 16 (Gate 3) (Month I, days 25–26)

The fragment describes the 20-something day of the month during which the moon sets and rises in the third gate. The moon sets in the third gate on day 25 (4Q209 16 0–2a, part-constructed) and rises in the third gate on day 26, for a sunset to sunset day reckoning (4Q209 16 2b–5a, part-constructed). (34) Drawnel’s reconstruction for days 25–26 according to a 30-day month, describes the data assigned to Month I in Table 1.

The surviving text of 4Q209 16 mentions the waning moon’s appearance in Gate 3 twice in alternate lines: when it sets in the third gate on day 25, followed by a *vacat*, and when it rises from the same “gate” on day 26. Therefore, the moon is in Gate 3 on both days 25 and 26, Month I. (35)

García-Martínez and Tigchelaar have ascribed the fragment, which they joined with frg. 15 (olim frgs. 5a + 6 1–5, rejected by Drawnel), (36) to day 21 of a 29-day month, or day 22 of a 30-day month.

In Ratzon’s theory, 4Q209 16 describes the fifth month of the first year, or the first month of the third year in her triennial cycle. She does not explain why she has accepted Drawnel’s reconstruction of day 25 which, she states, is not certain. (37) She does not give a reason for her deduction pertaining to the moonrise, moonset, etc... in determining the date. Ratzon gives four dates for this text: the moon is in Gate 3 on the dates 25–26/01/01 and 25–26/01/03, (38) and 25–26/05/01 and 25–26/05/03, (39) all of which are highlighted in her triennial cycle in Appendix A.

(34) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 178–180.

(35) This is in accordance with the formula used in 4Q209 7 ii 8–11, Month IX days 25–26: waning moonset in Gate 2 on day 25, *vacat*, and moonrise in Gate 2, on day 26 the new calendrical day beginning at sunset, see below.

(36) García-Martínez and Tigchelaar, “209,” 154–155, cf. Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 179. The reconstructions in Table 1 are indebted to an earlier version of the table published freely online (2015, rev. 2017 uploaded 2018), Helen R. Jacobus “Reconstructing 4Q208–4Q209 as an Astronomical Artefact,” in *Bible and Interpretation*, pp. 12–13: <https://www.bibleinterp.com/PDFs/Aramaic%20calendars%20final.pdf>.

(37) Ratzon, “First Jewish Astronomers,” 132.

(38) Ratzon, “First Jewish Astronomers,” Appendix A, 134, 136.

(39) Ratzon, “First Jewish Astronomers,” Appendix A, 134, 136.

**4Q208 15 (Gate 3) (Month I, days 26–27) possible // 4Q209 16 (Month I, days 25–26 above)**

The complete numerals are not preserved but there is a partial preservation of the lunar fractions and the third gate. (40) The diminishing moon rises from the third gate for the first time after sunset (4Q208 15 1). (41) Drawnel suggests two options for the days of the unknown month: days 24–25 in a 29-day month; or, days 26 and 27 in a 30-day month. (42)

Since the moon stays in the same gate for at least two days the waning moon must also be in the same “gate” on the day following the first mention of moonrise in Gate 3. As the days of the month are broken, 4Q208 15 may be placed in Month II (29-day month), days 24 (Gate 3, 1.5/7<sup>th</sup> shining) to day 25 (Gate 3, 1/7<sup>th</sup> shining), agreeing with Drawnel’s Option 1; or Month I (30-day month), day 26, (Gate 3, 1.5/7<sup>th</sup> shining) and day 27 (Gate 3, 1/7<sup>th</sup> shining), agreeing with Drawnel’s Option 2. There has to be two options in this case because the numbers for the day of the month are broken (as the text is uncertain, it is not included in Table 1).

In calendrical order, 4Q208 15 aligns with Month I, days 26–27, or Month II, days 26–27 in Gate 3. There is, thus, a possible parallel and mathematical overlap between 4Q208 15 1–4 and 4Q209 16 2b–5 (Month I, days 26–27, Gate 3, 1.5/7<sup>th</sup> shining):

**4Q208 15 (Month I, days 26–27) with parallels to 4Q209 16 (underlined)**

[שביע חד ופ]לג ובלילא[ שתה ועשרין בה כסה]	4Q208 15:1
[שביעין חמשה ופלג וב]ציר מן נהורה לש[ביעין חמשה ופלג]	4Q208 15:2
[ובאדין נפק מן תר]עא תליתא ואניר[ בשאר ליליא דנ]	4Q208 15:3
[שביע חד ופלג] וקוי בימימא ד[נ שביעין שתה ובאדין]	4Q208 15:4
[ערב ועל וכסה]שאר יממ[א דנ שביע חד ובלילא]	4Q208 15:5
[שבעה ועשרין ב]ה כס[ה שביעין שתה ובציר מן נהורה]	4Q208 15:6

(40) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 102–104.

(41) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 103. Drawnel states that the philological marker for sunset to moonrise in the waning phase (that is, the period during the night before the moon has risen) is **בה כסה** “it is hidden in it” (“Column D” {waning only}), is a time-related term, rather than an astronomical adjective, Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 241–242; 255–257. Cf. Edward M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 117: “in it (the day) it (the moon) is covered.”

(42) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 102. García Martínez and Tigchelaar state that the description belongs to the second half of the month and that the exact days cannot be determined due to the loss of the numerals, García Martínez and Tigchelaar, “208,” 118. Ratzon assigns the data to day 20, Month VI, or day 24, Month VIII, Ratzon, “4Q208,” 96–97. (In her reconstruction of 4Q208 the order of the full and hollow months are reversed to that of 4Q209).

*Translation 4Q208 15 (Month I, days 26–27) with parallels to 4Q209 16 (underlined)*

1. for one-and-a-half[-sevenths.] And during night [twenty-six it is hidden in it]
2. [for five-and-a-half-se  
venths. And it is sub]tracted from its light up to [five-and-a-half-]se[venths.]
3. [And then it rises from] the third [ga]te. And it shines [during the rest of  
this night]
4. [for one-and-a half-sevenths.] And it stays during th[is] day [for six-  
sevenths. And then]
5. [it sets and enters. And it is hidden] during the rest of [this] da[y for one-  
seventh. And during night]
6. [twenty-seven] it is hidde[n in] it [for six-sevenths. And it is subtracted  
from its light...]

*4Q209 16 (Month I, days 25–26), with parallels to 4Q208 15 (underlined)*

As discussed above, according to Drawnel, his reconstruction for 4Q209 16 indicates that the fragment computes days 25 and 26 in a 30-day month. (43) Gate 3 is extant in 4Q209 16 2, 4 (part preserved). (44)

- 4Q209 16:0 ובלילא חמשה ועשרין בה כסה שביעין חמשה בציר מן נהורה שביעין חמשה  
ובאדין נפק]
- 4Q209 16:1 ואניר בשאר ליליא ד] שביעין תרין וקוי ביממא דן שביעין חמשה ופלג ובאדין]
- 4Q209 16:2 [ערב ועל ל]תרעא תליתיא] וכסה שאר יממא דן שביעין חד ופלג vacat?  
ובלילא]
- 4Q209 16:3 שתה וע]שרין בה כסה] שביעין חמשה ופלג ובציר מן נהורה שביעין חמשה ופלג  
ובאדין נפק]
- 4Q209 16:4 מן תרעא ] תליתיא ואנ]יר בשאר ליליא דן שביעין חד ופלג וקוי ביממא דן שביעין  
שתה]
- 4Q209 16:5 ובאדין ערב ו]על] וכסה שאר יממא דן שביעין חד וליליא שבעה ועשרין בה כסה  
שביעין]

*Reconstruction and translation: 4Q209 16 (Month I, days 25–26) with parallels (underlined) to 4Q208 15 (Month I, days 26–27)*

0. [And during night twenty-five it is hidden in it for five-sevenths. And it is subtracted from its light five-sevenths. And then it rises]
1. [and shines (45) during the rest of th]is[ night for two-sevenths. And it stays during this day for five-and-a half-sevenths. And then]

(43) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 179.

(44) These data fit Month I, a 30-day month, days 25–26, Gate 3, in Table 1, discussed above.

(45) The diminishing “shining” moon אניר; Drawnel suggests that the term is not visually descriptive, but time-related, denoting the period of night that the moon shines

2. [it sets and enters] the third gate. [And it is hidden during the rest of this day for one-and-a-half-sevenths. *Vacat?* And during night]
3. [twe]nty-[six] it is hidden in it [for five-and-a-half-sevenths. And it is subtracted from its light five-and-a-half-sevenths. And then it rises]
4. [from] the third [gate]. And shi[nes during the rest of this night for one-and-a half-sevenths.]
5. [And then it sets and] enters. [And it is hidden during the rest of this day for one-seventh. And during night twenty-seven it is hidden in it for (six-) sevenths...]

Below is a comparison of the two texts side-by-side in translation:

<p>4Q209 16 1–5 (Month I, days [25]; 2[6] – [27] (<b>Gate 3</b>))</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. [and shines during the rest of th[is] night for two-sevenths. And it stays during this day for five-and-a half-sevenths. And then]</li> <li>2. it sets and enters] the <b>third gate</b>. (46) [And it is hidden during the rest of this day for one-and-a-h]alf[-sevenths. <i>Vacat?</i> ] And during night]</li> <li>3. [twe]nty-[six]? it is hidden in it [for five-and-a-half-sevenths. And it is subtracted from its light five-and-a-half-sevenths. <b>And then it rises]</b></li> <li>4. [from] the <b>third [gate]</b>. And shi[nes during the rest of this night for one-and-a half-sevenths.]</li> <li>5. [And then it sets and] enters. [And it is hidden during the rest of this day for one-seventh. And during night twenty-seven? it is hidden in it for (six-)sevenths...]</li> </ol>	<p>4Q208 15 1–6 (Month I, days [26] – [27] (<b>Gate 3</b>))</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <u>for one-and-a-h]alf[-sevenths.]</u> <u>And during night [twenty-six? it is hidden in it]</u></li> <li>2. [for five-and-a-half-se]venths. And it is sub]tracted from its light up to [five-and-a-half-]se[venths.]</li> <li>3. [<b>And then it rises from] the third [ga]te</b>. And it shines [during the rest of this night]</li> <li>4. [for one-and-a half-sevenths.] And it stays during th[is] day [for six-sevenths. And then]</li> <li>5. [it sets and enters. And it is hidden] during the rest of [this] da[y for one-seventh. And during night]</li> <li>6. [twenty-seven?] it is hidde[n in] it [for six-sevenths. And it is subtracted from its light...]</li> </ol>
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Comparison between 4Q209 16 1–15 and possibly 4Q208 15 1–6: overlaps are underlined and shaded for clarity. “The third gate” is in boldface.

after moonrise in the waning stage (“Column B” {waning }),” Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 247–249. Similar terminology is used for the waxing moon, see 4Q209 7 iii, below.

(46) In Table 1, the gate number for the calendrical day of setting and entering a gate for the first time that month is listed under the ‘old’ gate number.

**4Q208 33 (Gate 6) (Month III, days 27–28)**

The day numbers of the month are not preserved but enough of the textual data remains for the reconstruction to read that the waning moon sets in the sixth gate near to the end of the lunar month. (47) According to the formula outlined above and in Table 1, the waning moon rises from the sixth gate on the following calendrical day of the month at sunset. Drawnel has reconstructed that night as the 28<sup>th</sup> of an unknown lunar month, although he suggests two options: Option 1: days 26–27, a 29-day month, or, Option 2: days 27–28, a 30-day month, giving preference to the latter in his reconstruction. (48)

Table 1 accords with Drawnel's preferred Option 2. It fits days 27–28, Month III (30-day month), where the waning moon rises from Gate 6 for the first time on the 28<sup>th</sup>. On day 27, Month III, the moon is 1/7<sup>th</sup> shining and on day 28 it shines for 0.5/7<sup>th</sup> (see, column "30" in Table 1).

*4Q208 33: (Month III, days 27–28)*

- 4Q208 33:1 [שתה ואגיר בשאר ליליא]א דנ שבי[ע] חד וקר ביממא דנ שביעינ שתה ופלג  
 4Q208 33:2 [ובאדינ ערב ועב לתרעא] שתיתא כס[ה] שאר יממא דנ פלג שביע ובלילא תמניה  
 4Q208 33:3 [ועשרינ בה כסה שביעינ] שתא ופלג [ובציר מנ נהורה שביעינ שתא ופלג ובאדינ]  
 4Q208 33:4 [נפק ואגיר בשאר ליליא דנ פלג שביע וקר ביממא דנ כלה ובאדינ ערב ועל]

*Translation. 4Q208 33: (Month III, days 27–28)*

1. [six. And it shines during the rest of] this [nigh]t [for one]-seve[n]th. And it stays during this day for six-and-a-half-sevenths.]
2. [And then it sets and enters] the sixth [gate.] It is hidd[en during the rest of this day for a half of a seventh. And during night twenty-]
3. [eight it is hidden in it] for six-and-a-half-[sevenths. And it is subtracted from its light six-and-a-half-sevenths. And then]
4. [it rises and shines during the rest of this night for] a hal[f of a seventh. And it stays during this day, all of it. And then it sets and enters.] (49)

(47) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 129–131.

(48) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 129, 130. Cf. Tigchelaar and García Martínez do not identify a date for this fragment, "208," 129. Ratzon proposes days 27–28, Month VI, Ratzon, "4Q208," 96–97.

(49) Drawnel transcribes and translates line 4 (*Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 130–131). The line has not been transcribed by the editors and I cannot see anything on the plate (there is no multi-spectral image of the fragment online at the time of writing); however, Drawnel's reconstruction has been included for completeness of the data.

**4Q208 16: (Gate 4) (Month VII, days 25–26)**

Although the text is very fragmentary, Drawnel has reconstructed the lines to suggest that the fragment describes days 25–26 of an unknown 30-day month with the waning moon rising from Gate 4. (50) The text states that the waning moon shines for 2.5/7<sup>ths</sup> (4Q208 16, 4), but **ופלג** in line 4 is a corrected scribal mistake: there is a correction stroke on the *gimel*, (indicating that the erroneous word **ופלג** should be ignored); (51) the fraction should be 2/7<sup>ths</sup> (**ופלג** is probably a repetition from the line above). In Table 1 the diminishing moon (4Q208 16, 1–2) (52) rises from Gate 4 during the night (4Q208 16, 3) and sets in Gate 4 before sunset (4Q208 16, 4–6). It shines in Gate 4 after sunset on calendrical day 26 (4Q208 16, 6c–7). According to Table 1, days 25–26, Month VII, a 30-day month, would be correct, in agreement with Drawnel.

*4Q208 16: (Month VII, days 25–26)*

4Q208 16:1 [דנ שביעינ תרינ ובלילא חמשה ועש]ר[ינ]  
 4Q208 16:2 [בה כסה שביעינ חמשה ובציר מנ נהו]רה  
 4Q208 16:3 [שביעינ חמשה ובאדינ נפק מנ תרע]א רב[עיא]  
 4Q208 16:4 [ואניר בשאר ליליא דנ שביעינ תרינ] {ופלג} ו[קרי]  
 4Q208 16:5 [ביממא דנ שביעינ חמשה ופלג ו]באדינ [ערב ועל]  
 4Q208 16:6 [וכסה שאר יממא דנ שביע חד] ופלג ו[בליליא]  
 4Q208 16:7 [שתה ועשרינ בה כסה שביעינ חמ] (53) ש[ה ופלג]

*Translation 4Q208 16: (Month VII, days 25–26)*

1. [this is six-sevenths. And during night tw]en[ty five?]
2. [it is hidden in it for five-sevenths. And it is subtracted from]its [li]ght
3. [five-sevenths. And then it rises from] the four[th gate.]
4. [And it shines during the rest of this night for two-]{and-a-half-}[sevenths.] and [it stays]

(50) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 104; Tigchelaar and García Martínez, “4Q209,” 118–119.

(51) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 105; Tigchelaar and García Martínez, “4Q209,” 119.

(52) Cf. Tigchelaar and García Martínez, “208,” 119: they suggest that the fragment describes day 16, 18, 20, 22 or 24 of a 29-day month, or day 17, 19, 21, 23 or 25 of a 30-day month. They further suggest that day 24 of a 29-day month may be Month IV “in view of the rising from the fourth gate.” Ratzon’s reconstruction proposes day 23, Month VI, or day 21, Month VIII, Ratzon, “4Q208,” 83–84.

(53) This letter can be seen in the enlarged multi-spectral image on the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library website. It is smaller than the letters on the other lines, as if it has been inserted above a line; the shape of it is between an *ayin* and a *shin*: the middle arm ascends from a downwards slanting baseline rather than crossing upwards from the left arm. <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-366739>.

5. [during this day for five-and-a-half-sevenths. And] then [it sets and enters (the fourth gate).]
6. [And it is hidden during the rest of this day for one]-and-a-half-[sevenths.] And [during night]
7. [twenty-six? It is hidden in it for fi]v[e-and-a-half-sevenths.]

#### 4Q209 7 ii: (Gate [4, 3] 2) (Month IX, days 23–27)

There is sufficient data in the largest fragment 4Q209 7 ii–iii to establish that col. ii begins with days 23 to 27 (waning moon), of Month IX (a 30-day month), and that col iii begins with days 8 to 10 (waxing moon) of Month X (a 29-day month). (54)

In 4Q209 7 ii 6–8, on night 25 the moon rises from an unspecified “gate” and sets in Gate 2 in the morning of night 25, the same moon-day. It rises in Gate 2 on night 26 (4Q209 7 ii 9–10), after sunset, shining  $1.5/7^{\text{th}}$  on that night and sets in an unspecified “gate.” (55) Thus, agreement with Milik who uses this text as an example to illustrate that the gate numbers are only specifically mentioned when the luminary moves into a new gate for the first time, (56) Table 1 shows that on night 25 the moon rose from Gate 3 (in accordance with the repeated scheme) after sunset, and set in Gate 2 for the first time (4Q209 7 iii 8) in the morning, rising in Gate 2 after sunset on night 26, the next moon-day. Ratzon, however, assigns night 25 Month IX to Gate 2 in the Year 1 of her proposed triennial cycle, which, she states aligns with her theory perfectly. (57) Yet, this can only be correct if she is looking at the moonset, rather than the moonrise in this instance. As stated above, Ratzon does not specify whether she is aligning the lunar dates to the moonrise or the moonset when the moon is waxing or waning. As the dates for the waning moon should begin at the moonrise (in Gate 2: day 26, 4Q209 7 ii 9–10), her presumed alignment of the beginning of day 25 to the moon’s setting in Gate 2 (without any explanation, one must assume she refers to 4Q209 7 ii 6–8) is at odds with the interpretations of Milik, Tigchelaar and Martínez, Drawnel, and Jacobus. (58)

(54) Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 278–281; Tigchelaar and García Martínez, “209,” 145–146 (esp. 146); Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 159–162 (esp. 160). Frag. 7 is listed as Frag. 1 in the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library.

(55) See also, Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 241.

(56) Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 283.

(57) Ratzon, “First Jewish Astronomers,” 132, 134.

(58) Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 278–281, 283 (“During the 26<sup>th</sup> night of the 9<sup>th</sup> month the moon ‘comes out of the second gate’ (line 10)”; Tigchelaar and García Martínez, “209,” 145–146; Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 146–148; Jacobus, *Zodiac Calendars*, 320.



Column 4Q209 7 ii has a blank space of five lines following Month IX, night 27, which looks like a large margin. However, Tigchelaar and García Martínez have calculated that each column has 40 lines; therefore, because col. iii begins with night 8 of Month X, the missing section after the blank lines should comprise ten nights: Month IX, night 28, to Month X, night 7. (59)

It should be noted that in Table 1 the large blank space in the manuscript comes before the moon rises after sunset on Month IX, night 28, in Gate 1. The deep margin may be a visual marker in the lunar calendar element of the synchronistic calendar to indicate the final phase and last visibility of the moon in the early morning when it rises for the last time before its conjunction with the sun at the end of the month (IX 28, 0.5/7ths, non-extant after the *vacat*). It is the final marked lunar phase before the winter solstice, which is stated in the text as the passage of the sun, at 4Q209 7 iii 1–2 (X 8). (60) Thus, the wide *vacat* at that point highlights the moon moving to Gate 1 at its last recorded visibility on IX 28, and the precise spacing means that the top of column iii commences with the night that the sun moves through Gate 1 at the beginning of the synchronized solar month on X 8. (61)

For Drawnel, as ever, there is no evidence that 4Q209 7 contains days from Month IX in col ii and Month X in col. iii since the text does not contain the month numerals. Based on the data, he states that col. ii describes a 30-day month, and col. iii, a 30-day month.

### 4Q209 3: (Gate 3) (Month X, days 1–5)

Drawnel suggests that 4Q209 3 follows the computation for days 1–4 in a 29-day month. (62)

According to his restoration, the remains of the fractions in 4Q209 3 1–8 positions the waxing moon in days 1–4, and part of day 5

(59) Tigchelaar and García Martínez, “4Q209,” 134; Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 159–160.

(60) Cf. in 4Q318 there is a blank line between the 30th Ellul (Month 6) and 1 Tishri (Month 7) 4Q318 iv 8–9 (the smaller separate fragment to larger piece on the plates, now black), so apparently indicating the separate halves of the year in this calendar (part-reconstructed), Jacobus, *Zodiac Calendars*, 159, 171, 174–175, see Figures 1.1–1.6, 161–164 (not indicated in Greenfield and Sokoloff, “318,” 262).

(61) Cf. Ratzon, “Gates Cosmology,” 126, states that “the sentence preserved in 4Q209 7 ii is the winter solstice.” Her conclusion that the winter solstice is referenced in col. ii is neither explained nor referenced. As explained below, the solstice coincides with the lunar dates in 4Q209 7 iii. Since the sun is not in the text in 4Q209 7 ii, it cannot describe the winter solstice.

(62) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 148–151.

when the moon rises in Gate 3, in Month X (a 29-day month). According to the theory in Table 1, on the evening of X 4, the moon sets in Gate 3 (line 7, extant, part restored), and in accordance with the incremental formula it shines for 2/7ths of its surface after sunset. (63) It rises in Gate 3 during the remainder of day 4 (line 8, part-reconstructed), and it shines from Gate 3 after sunset on X 5 (not extant). (64)

In our hypothesis, Gate 3 would be attributed to night 5 because the moon set in Gate 3 on night 4 (4Q209 3 7) (after sunset, therefore the moon was shining in Gate 2 during the night) and rose in Gate 3 during the day (4Q209 7 8, restored by Drawnel). Therefore, it shone after sunset in Gate 3 for the first time on night 5. This also fits with the schematic pattern that attributes nights 3 and 4 to Gate 2 and nights 5 and 6 to Gate 3 in a 29-day month, according to the lunar fractions. Month X is the only 29-day month in which the moon is in Gate 3 on night 5. The only other month in which the moon is in Gate 3 on night 5 is Month V, a 30-day month, according to the schematic pattern, which cannot match the lunar fractions for that day of the month.

Tigchelaar and García Martínez felt that it was “most likely” that the text belongs to a description of month XI (30-day month). (65) However, a 30-day month does not fit the fractions’ incremental pattern.

In Ratzon’s hypothesis, the moon is attributed to Gate 3 on either IV 4, or X 4 (both 29-day months) in which it sets and rises, in the second year of the triennial cycle. (66)

Of note, 4Q209 3 may match the missing section of 4Q209 7 ii, from beneath the large, torn *vacat* at the bottom of the column, discussed above, specifically days 1–part of day 5, Month X (29 day-month). As the text matches the data, as discussed, it has been ascribed to those dates in Table 1.

#### **4Q209 7 iii (sun: Gate 1/ moon: Gate 5) (Month X, days 8–10)**

Column iii on the left is torn and has only days 8–10 of lunar Month X (a 29-day month) extant; the preserved text includes moonset

(63) Reconstruction by Tigchelaar and García Martínez, “209,” 140–141; Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 148–151.

(64) Agreeing with Drawnel’s analysis that **אָנִיר** refers to sunset to moonset in the waxing stage (“Column B,” {waxing}); see also his reconstruction (line 8), *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 150, 248.

(65) Tigchelaar and García Martínez, “209,” 141.

(66) Ratzon, “First Jewish Astronomers,” 132, Appendix A, 135, noted above.

on night 9 in Gate 5 (line 6) and moonrise in Gate 5 on day 9 (line 7–8, part reconstructed), as well as the sun’s passage in Gate 1 on night 8 and sunrise in the same gate on day 9 (line 1c–2b, 5b–6a). (67) This is the only preserved text in the synchronistic calendar which describes the respective coinciding positions of the sun and the moon. Given the time of year and the sun’s presence on the lunar dates, it indicates the sunrise at the winter solstice. (68)

The statement in 4Q209 7 iii 5b–6a echoes that of the sun’s movements in 4Q209 7 iii 1c–2b without noting ‘solar’ Gate 1 again. A likely interpretation may be that in lines 1c–2b the datum marks the sun’s rising in Gate 1 on calendrical day 8, and it is understood that the sun will rise in, Gate 1, the same “gate” in lines 5b–6a (when the moon changes its “gate” to set in Gate 5) and for the remainder of the ‘solar’ month. Drawnel ascribes 4Q209 7 iii to a 29-day month. (69) There are no moonset gate numbers on night 8 or night 10 (broken).

Table 1 assigns Gate 4 to nights 8 and 9 (and night 7) in keeping with the hypothesis that the calendrical date changes at sunset together with the scheme that the moon stays in the same gate for two days, two days, two days, three days, etc... as described above. Moonset for the waxing moon in Gate 5 is ascribed to night 10 calendrically because that is the first time that the moon sets after sunset in Gate 5: lines 8–9.

Ratzon assigns the numerical sequence of the “gates” in the reverse order to that in Table 1 for year 1 of her proposed triennial cycle: 08/10/01 to Gate 5 and 10/10/01 to Gate 4, (70) arguing that her computation matches “the data of the scroll completely.” (71) However, none of this data exists in the text, nor in any reconstruction of it in the critical editions. Her claim contradicts Milik’s hypothesis that the gate numbers are only mentioned when they appear in the text for the first time. As stated, the moonset on night 8 in the text is extant and does not have a gate number (4Q209 7 iii 1b).

#### **4Q208 24 i: (Gate 4) (Month XII, Nights 2–4)**

This relatively substantial column contains data for Month XII 2–4: the fragment describes the waxing moon shining from the Gate 4 after

(67) Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 279–283; Tigchelaar and García Martínez, “209,” 147–148; Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 160, 163–165.

(68) See also Jacobus, *Zodiac Calendars*, 291–293.

(69) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 159–160.

(70) Ratzon, “First Jewish Astronomers,” Appendix A, 134.

(71) Ratzon, “First Jewish Astronomers,” 124.

sunset on the third calendrical day of the month (4Q208 24 i 1–8); it includes the semi-preserved fraction of five-and-a half (line 5). In Table 1, these data correspond with Month XII (a 29-day month) where on day 3 the moon is in Gate 4 and shines for  $1.5/7^{\text{ths}}$  (that is, five-and-a-half sevenths dark; line 5 reconstructed). Drawnel's reconstruction also favours a 29-day month. (72)

The moon is also in Gate 4 on the third day of month V (a 30-day month), but it would shine for  $1/7^{\text{ths}}$  (and thus, be six-sevenths dark), as shown in Table 1. (73)

The second column is problematic: 4Q208 24 ii 1–3 contains the remains of the text describing an unknown day and unknown luminary in the first gate (4Q208 24 ii 2). Drawnel, and Tigchelaar and García Martínez surmise that with respect to the day numbers in col. i, the date must be, logically, day 6, Month XII. (74) This would be possible if the end of column i ran directly onto column ii. However, there is no bottom margin to column i and the length of the columns are unknown. (75) Although the lunar fractions run on, it is not possible for the moon to set in Gate 1 on XII 6 in the Table 1 scheme. Nor is it possible that the luminary is the sun because that enters Gate 3 in Month XII, not Gate 1. Since the column lengths here are unknown the attribution of the date as the next day of the month to immediately follow that in the previous column is really very insecure indeed.

(72) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 118–120, esp. 118. There is an error in the reconstruction in line 12 (translation): the moon shines for two-and-a-half-sevenths on night five (not, “four-and-a-half”); and again in line 13, in both the Aramaic and the translation, the moon is dark for five-and-a-half-sevenths, not, “four-and-a-half,” 120.

(73) Cf. Tigchelaar and García Martínez: “The fragment preserves parts of the description of the second to fourth day of a month. However, a full reconstruction of lines 1–7 according to the usual scheme would result in lines of different lengths. The entering of the fourth gate on the second day may be placed in Month V (or XII) if one allows the variation of one day,” “208,” 124–125. Table 1 agrees with Month XII. Cf. Ratzon, in her reconstruction, assigns this column to days 2–4 of Month VII, Ratzon, “4Q208,” 68–70.

(74) Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 121; Tigchelaar and García Martínez, “208,” 125.

(75) Tigchelaar and García Martínez, state: “The total height and width of the scroll cannot be calculated,” “208,” 105. The largest fragment (fig. 10a) is 8.8 cm in height and does not have an extant bottom margin (suggesting the column is longer), op. cit. fig. 24, the second largest fragment, measures 8.4 cm in height (col i), Drawnel, *Aramaic Astronomical Book*, 118.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	29d	30d
													1/7ths	1/7ths
1	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	.5	
2	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	1	.5
3	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	1.5	1
4	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	II	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	33 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2	1.5
5	6 <sup>II</sup>	4 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	2.5	2
6	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	3	2.5
7	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	3.5	3
8	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	4	3.5
9	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	4.5	4
10	6 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5	4.5
11	6 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5.5	5
12	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	6	5.5
13	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	6.5	6
14	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	(7)	6.5
15	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	6.5	(7)
16	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	6	6.5
17	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	5.5	6
18	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	5	5.5
19	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	4.5	5
20	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	4	4.5
21	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	3.5	4
22	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	3	3.5
23	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	2.5	3
24	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2	2.5
25	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	1.5	2
26	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	1	1.5
27	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	.5	1
28	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>		.5
29	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>	5 <sup>ሄ</sup>	6 <sup>II</sup>	6 <sup>፩</sup>	5 <sup>ፊ</sup>	4 <sup>ጠ</sup>	3 <sup>፰</sup>	2 <sup>ጢ</sup>	1 <sup>ጸ</sup>	1 <sup>ሃ</sup>	2 <sup>፳</sup>	3 <sup>ዘ</sup>		
30	4 <sup>ሃ</sup>		6 <sup>II</sup>		5 <sup>ፊ</sup>		3 <sup>፰</sup>		1 <sup>ጸ</sup>		2 <sup>፳</sup>			

Table 1. Reconstruction of 4Q208–4Q208 with gate numbers for the days of the month and the lunar fractions of the moon “shining” in sevenths and half sevenths on those dates; the schematic 354-day lunar calendar of alternating 29 and 30-day months begins on day 1, Month I with the moon in Gate 4. As the ends of the months are not preserved the synchronized solar calendar is not evidenced in the text. The parallel zodiacal signs have been retained to make the table easier the follow:

*Gate numbers and key to zodiac symbols:* Gate 4: Aries ♈ and Virgo ♍; Gate 5: Taurus ♉ and Leo ♌; Gate 6: Gemini ♊ and Cancer ♋; Gate 3: Libra ♎ and Pisces ♉; Gate 2: Scorpio ♏ and Aquarius ♒; Gate 1: Sagittarius ♐ and Capricorn ♑

The shaded areas represent extant fragments with preserved “gate” numbers in boldface and underlined for the dates for the first time that the moon rises (waning) or sets (waxing) in that “gate” after sunset, that is, the new calendrical day in the lunar calendar. The non-extant gate numbers have been reckoned according to the schematic pattern of the moon changing zodiacal signs every two to three days (described above). The pattern agrees with the preserved gate numbers, days of the month and the lunar fractions in the text. The methodology supports Milik’s statement that the “gates” are only mentioned when the moon changes the “gate” in which it sets or rises. (76)

## CONCLUSION

Our model of a synchronized calendar draws on contemporaneous astronomical knowledge including another Aramaic calendar from Qumran and working Babylonian astronomy. This construct is more accurate than Ratzon’s hypothesis of a full triennial cycle and synchronized calendar involving a 364-day year in 4Q209 (revised from 4Q208, according to her latest article, while also drawing on Hebrew calendrical texts from different periods). Her theoretical calendar not only lacks actual astronomical precision and qualification, but also in at least one instance does not match 4Q209 within the very small sample of possible identifiable fragments. Thus, her attempt to superimpose a triennial cycle onto these Aramaic texts does not produce clear or convincing results. The dates contained in the fragments of 4Q208–4Q209 comprising the same calendrical data may be identified without any such ambiguity or inaccuracies and can be clearly justified in the working calendrical scheme represented in Table 1.

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(76) Milik, *Books of Enoch*, 283.

## IDENTIFICATION OF 4Q56 (4QISA<sup>B</sup>) FRAGMENTS

THE DJD edition of 4Q56 (4QIsa<sup>b</sup>) presented forty-seven fragments, of which five (frags. 43-47) could not be associated with a specific text of Isaiah. (1) While some 4Q56 fragments are relatively large, the editors (initially Skehan, and subsequently Ulrich (2)) identified many small and tiny fragments which should also be assigned to the manuscript. Such identifications were made on the basis of the appearance of the leather, the scribal hand, and the remaining text. (3) The DJD edition also includes some tiny fragments that had been placed on the museum plates with unidentified fragments and only later associated with 4Q56. For example, the composite frag. 10 includes a minute fragment that was originally on the plate Mus. Inv. 72 (PAM 43.665 frag. 24), but now has been restored to line 2 of the conglomerate of frags. 10-13, with the letters הַעִיט, and the top of a *lamed* of line 3. A slightly larger fragment from Mus. Inv. 39 (cf. PAM 43.674 frag. 9) has been fitted in the DJD edition in 4Q56 frag. 7 lines 7-8. Here I briefly present three hitherto unidentified 4Q56 fragments from other museum plates, and survey textual identifications of already published 4Q56 fragments.

(1) Patrick W. Skehan and Eugene Ulrich, “56. 4QIsa<sup>b</sup>,” in Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4, X: The Prophets*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 15 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 19-43; henceforth: DJD 15.

(2) The Cave 4 Isaiah texts were entrusted to Skehan (1909-1980), who had arranged to have his material transferred to Ulrich, who updated and completed Skehan’s preliminary editions.

(3) Some fragments are simply too small to decide with certainty whether they belong to 4Q56. The small frag. 6 was placed with 4Q56 fragments in PAM 42.975, then transferred to a museum plate with tiny unidentified fragments (PAM 43.169), but nonetheless included in the edition.



## 1. Identifications

### 1.1. PAM 43.672 frag. 68 (4) [4Q56 frag. 49] (5) / Isa 5:16-17 / join to 4Q56 frag. 3 col. ii 2-3

In DJD 33, (6) the hitherto unidentified fragment was transcribed, but because the editors read the remains of line 2 as **ואכלי** and surmised that the entire word should be read **ואכלים**, they could not offer an identification. (7) However, a reading **יאכלו** together with the remains **שןק** in line 1, enables the identification with Isa 5:16-17. The fragment joins perfectly to frag. 3, which preserves the bottom parts of the first two letters of **יאכלו**. One should therefore now transcribe 4Q56 frag. 3 col. ii 2-3 as follows:

] 2  
[הקדו]ש נקדש בצדקה[ ורעו כבשים כדברם] 3  
[והרבות מ[חי]ם גרים יאכלו] ] vacat

There is no clear space between the words **הקדו]ש נקדש**, but the lack or paucity of word-dividing spaces is not uncommon with this scribe. (8)

### 1.2. PAM 43.678 frag. 6 (9) [4Q56 frag. 50] / Isa 18:7-19:1 / insert in 4Q56 10-13 3-7

The editors of DJD 33 transcribed and discussed the fragment, but gave no identification. (10) The textual remains **יהנה יהיה** in line 4, preceded by a *vacat* in line 3, facilitate the identification. The fragment fits in between 4Q56 frags. 10 and 11, joining physically to both, and thus materially connects both fragments. The resultant text of 4Q56 frags. 10-13 lines 3-6 can now be transcribed as follows:

3 [בע]ת ההיא יובל שי ליהוה צבאות (11) עם ממ"ך ומורט מעם נורא מן והלאה נוי  
4 [קו]קו ומבוס[ה] אשר בואו נהרים ארצו אל מקום שם יהוה צבאות הר ציון

(4) Images on <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-493462> and B-493463.

(5) Numbers in square brackets are suggestions for future reference to these fragments.

(6) Dana M. Pike and Andrew C. Skinner, *Qumran Cave 4, XXIII: Unidentified Fragments*, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 33 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001); henceforth: DJD 33.

(7) DJD 33:59.

(8) DJD 15:20: "The scribe sometimes leaves little room for word-division."

(9) Images on <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-492562> and B-492563,

(10) DJD 33:119-20.

(11) As noted by the editors, the scribe initially omitted the word **צבאות** and wrote the word **עם** after **ליהוה**. Apparently, the scribe immediately remodeled the *'ayin* to *šade*, and added **אות**. I cannot see, however, any evidence of remodeling of final *mem* to *bet*, but undoubtedly the reading **צבאות** was intended.

vacat	[   ]	vacat	[   ]	5
[משא מצרים]		הנה יהוה רכב על עב קל ובא מצרים ונעו אלילי מן[צרים]		6
		]o[		7

1.3 PAM 43.677 frag. 39 (12) [4Q56 frag. 51] / Isa 41:6-8 / to the right of 4Q56 frag. 27

The editors of DJD 33 transcribed and discussed the fragment, but failed to identify the first letter, and therefore overlooked the connection of the two words of lines 1-2 with Isa 41:6-7. (13) Depending on the alignment of the fragments, the remains of the one letter of line 3 is plausibly the headstroke of one of the letters of **עבדי יעקב** of Isa 41:8 (4Q56 27 line 2). Read

]יעהו	1
פעם א]מר	2
]o[	3

1.4. 4Q56 frag. 46 (14) / Isa 46:6 / place two lines below 4Q56 33 i

Though the letters **קנה**] could correspond to several cases in Isaiah, Donald Parry plausibly argued that the fragment derived from two lines below frags. 32, 33 i 9, corresponding to **בקנה** of Isa 46:6, both this fragment and frag. 33 i preserving the left margin. (15)

1.5. 4Q56 frag. 38 (16) / Isa 51:14-16 / horizontally align with 4Q56 36 (17)

The DJD 4Q56 editors tentatively, but incorrectly, identified frag. 38 with Isa 52:7. (18) Fragments 39, 38, 36, and perhaps also

(12) Image on <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285456>.

(13) DJD 33:113-14.

(14) Images on <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-367806> and B-367807.

(15) Private communication, 2008.

(16) Images on <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-367790> and B-367791.

(17) Cf. earlier discussions in Eibert Tigchelaar, "Minuscula Qumranica I," *RevQ* 21/84 (2004): 643-48, at 646; and in Tigchelaar, "Publication of PAM 43.398 (IAA #202) Including New Fragments of 4Q269," in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 265-80, at 270.

(18) DJD 15:41: "The identification is not certain." Note that the DJD identification also requires the assumption of the variant **נאור** for MT **נאור**.

34 were found in a wad, (19) and the photographs show the original order. (20)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1 | [לשחת ולא יחסר] לחמו ואנכי יהוה אלהיך רנע הים ויהמו גליו ית[וה]   |
| 2 | [שמו] [אֲשִׁים יִבְרִי בִפֶּךָ וּבָצָא לִי יָדִי כְסִיתִךָ לִנְטַע שָׁמִים וְלִיסַד אֶרֶץ וְלִאֲמֹר לְצִיּוֹן |
| 3 | [עמי אתה] vacat [   |

If reconstructed as above, then the word **צבאות** from MT Isa 51:15 **יהוה צבאות שמו** is missing. The word **צבאות** was also initially omitted in 4Q56 3 ii 11 (Isa 5:25) but then inserted interlinearly. And in 4Q56 10-13 3 (see above) the scribe initially omitted **צבאות**, but immediately corrected the error. Here, too, **צבאות** may have been omitted, but there is no evidence of an insertion. (21) Alternatively, one might want to reconstruct longer lines (with **צבאות** at the beginning of line 2 and **ימות** or **ולא ימות** at the beginning of line 1), though it then becomes more difficult to restore a straight right margin.

The new IAA images show clearly an interlinear **מר** in frag. 38 2, (22) probably preceded by *ʾalef*, which would add one more example to the “numerous supralinear insertions” listed by the editors. (23)

1.6. *PAM 43.398 frag. 9 [4Q56 frag. 48] / Isa 55:12-56:1 / one revolution of the scroll further than 4Q56 frag. 39* (24)

The fragment can be read as follows:

- |   |                |
|---|----------------|
| 1 | ובשל[ו]ם]      |
| 2 | [כף תחת ה]נעצר |
| 3 | [עולם לא]      |
| 4 | ק[רוב]ה        |

In view of the similar shape, one may associate this fragment with the four that originally formed a wad. These five fragments would then

(19) The original wad, with frag. 39 on top and possibly only two other fragments frag. 38 and 36 beneath it, has been photographed in PAM 41.348 (left bottom). Frag. 34 is first photographed, separate from those three fragments, in PAM 41.374. In PAM 41.520, frags. 38 and 36 are displayed with the tags 2 and 3.

(20) Cf. DJD 15:19, 40. PAM 42.003 and 43.017 use small tags. Generally on the photographs, tags with numbers indicate the sequence from top to bottom of a pile (the text facing), i.e., from the inside to the outside of the scroll.

(21) Tigchelaar, “PAM 43.398,” 270 transcribes supralinear [**צבאות**] at the end of the line.

(22) Not transcribed either in DJD 15:41 or in Tigchelaar, “PAM 43.398.”

(23) DJD 15:22.

(24) Previously published in Tigchelaar, “PAM 43.398,” 269-70.

derive from four consecutive columns of 4Q56. One may compare the distance between the fragments with the place of these in the two cave 1 Isaiah scrolls.

cf. 1QIsa <sup>b</sup>	cf. 1QIsa <sup>a</sup>		4Q56 frags.	tags 42.003	tags 43.017
lost bottom XXI	XLI 21-23	Isa 49:21-23	34		4
lost bottom XXII	XLIII 2-5	Isa 51:14-16	36	3	3
			38	2	2
XXIII 23-24	XLIV 20-21	Isa 53:11-12	39	1	1
XXIV 14-16	XLVI 8-10	Isa 55:12-56:1	48		

It is likely then, that frag. 33 ii came one column before frag. 34, and frags. 32+33 i two columns before.

#### 1.7. 4Q56 frag. 43 (25) / Isa 65:23-66:1 (?)

The textual remains and the *vacat* in line 3 only allow for a reconstruction according to Isa 65:23-66:1. See the following transcription:

1 [ידיהם יבלו בחירי לא ייגעו לריק ולא ילדו לבהלה כי זרע ברוכי יהוה המה וצאצא־אֱלֹהִים  
 2 [והיה טרם יקראו ואני אענה עוד הם מדברים ואני אשמע זאב וטלה ירעו כאחד וא־רִיָה  
 3 [כבקר יאכל תבן ונחש עפר לחמו לא ירעו ולא ישחיתו בכל הר קדשי אמר יהוה ] *vac*  
 4 [כה אמר יהוה השמים כסאי והארץ הדם רגלי אי זה בית אשר תבנו לי ואי זה מקום  
 מניחתי

The reading of *alef* in וצאצא־אֱלֹהִים is somewhat difficult, because it requires a strongly curved, concave diagonal, even more so than comparable examples in frag. 10-13 (e.g., line 13 ואִיננו). A more serious problem with this identification is that the lines are considerably longer than those of any preserved column of 4Q56. In particular, if the textual identification of frag. 43 is correct, then it is much longer last (lines 2 and 4 would have 77-78 letter-spaces per line) than the lines of frag. 41 (Isa 64:5-65:1) with 56-69 letter-spaces per line, which would form the preceding column. Moreover, frag. 42 (Isa 66:24) which preserves parts of the very last verse of the book, can be reconstructed to have only 25 letter-spaces in line 1:

(25) Images on <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-367800> and B-367801.

- 1 [כי תולעתם ל]א תָמוּת ואשם ל[א]  
2 [תכבה והיו דרא]ן לכל בשר [ ] vac

Very narrow last columns are attested in several scrolls, (26) but there is not enough text in between Isa 65:1 and 66:24 to posit a very wide penultimate column with frag. 43 in between the columns with frag. 42 and frag. 44. Hence, assuming the identification of frag. 43 is the only one possible, one would have a broad column, which concluded at the end with narrow lines, perhaps comparable to the layout of 4Q50 (4QJudg<sup>b</sup>) where in the last column the line lengths—when reconstructed according to MT—even though highly irregular, gradually decrease from more than one hundred letter-spaces per line to forty-four in the last two lines. (27)

## 2. The “Ink and Blood” Collection Fragments

In 2005 several hitherto unknown, privately-owned, fragments from Qumran were published, two of which were identified by their editors as 4Q56 (4QIsa<sup>b</sup>) fragments. (28) Subsequently, they have been included in some authoritative overviews of the scrolls. (29) The identification with 4Q56 seems to be based on two considerations only: these fragments contain remnants of Isa 24:16-17 and 26:19-27:1, while 4Q56

(26) Cf., e.g., very narrow columns in 4Q44 (4QDeut<sup>a</sup>) and 4Q511 (4QShir<sup>b</sup>), and narrow columns in 1Q35 (1QH<sup>b</sup>), 4Q397 (4QMMT<sup>d</sup>; reconstructed) and 4Q399 (4QMMT<sup>f</sup>). Cf. also the data on ends of scrolls in Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts from the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 111-12, 115-18.

(27) See also the description in DJD 14:167.

(28) Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel. “New Fragments from Qumran: 4QGen<sup>f</sup>, 4QIsa<sup>b</sup>, 4Q226, 8QGen, and XQpapEnoch,” *DSD* 12 (2005): 134-57, esp. 137-42; Eibert Tigchelaar, “A Provisional List of Unprovenanced, Twenty-First Century, Dead Sea Scrolls-like Fragments,” *DSD* 24 (2017): 173-88, items #59 and #60, formerly in the “Ink and Blood” Collection. On the purchase and exhibition history of these Isaiah fragments, cf. Ludvik A. Kjeldsberg, “Forfalskede Relikvier? Aktører innenfor det amerikanske kristne høyres bruk av «Dødehavsruller»” (MA thesis Universitetet i Agder, 2018), 22-27, 115-17; in 2016, the two Isaiah fragments were in the possession of the French Aristophil group. For photographs of the Isaiah fragments, one in color, cf. *Cession Judiciaire Aristophil: Dossier de Presse, Janvier 2016; Aristophil Judicial Assignment: Press File, January 2016*, 6.

(29) The fragments are mentioned sub 4Q56 by Emanuel Tov, *Revised Lists of the Texts from the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 28, and have been included as 4Q56 16a and 20a in the Accordance Dead Sea Scrolls Biblical Corpus. They are ignored by Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*, Band 1: *Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und der anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 266-67, though Lange (47, 54) did include the two equally dubious Genesis fragments published in “New Fragments from Qumran.”

also has parts of Isa 24 and 26, and the reconstructed line length in the two fragments would be similar to that in 4Q56. However, both in general style of writing, and in the specific forms of letters, the writing of the two fragments is entirely different from that of 4Q56. (30) Moreover, the style of writing found within these two fragments is dissimilar from another. If the fragments are authentic, they would come from two altogether different manuscripts. However, materially and palaeographically both fragments have many features common to those “post-2002” fragments that appear to be forgeries. (31)

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(30) Cf. the brief discussion in Eibert Tigchelaar, “Notes on the Three Qumran-Type Yadin Fragments Leading to a Discussion of Identification, Attribution, Provenance, and Names,” *DSD* 19 (2012): 198-214, at 212 n. 47.

(31) See Kipp Davis, “Caves of Dispute: Patterns of Correspondence and Suspicion in the Post-2002 ‘Dead Sea Scrolls’ Fragments,” *DSD* 24 (2017): 229-70.

## AN APOCALYPTIC PHRASE IN 4QPSEUDO-EZEKIEL AND IN 1 THESS 5:3A

**I**N the present article I suggest that an apocalyptic phrase, attested in a fragment of the so-called Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q386 1 ii 7–10), is cited in a Pauline passage (1 Thess 5:3a). I will try to demonstrate that the two passages are mutually illuminating. While discerning Paul's use of this phrase has significant implications for the interpretation of the Pauline passage and its context, the comparative study of the two texts helps us to adequately translate the Qumran fragment.

### I

In 1 Thess 5:1–5 Paul writes:

(1) But as to the times and the seasons (περὶ δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν καιρῶν), brethren, you have no need to have (anything) written to you. (2) For you yourselves accurately know that the day of the Lord will come like a thief in the night. (3) When they say, “peace and security,” then sudden destruction will come upon them (ὅταν λέγωσιν Εἰρήνη καὶ ἀσφάλεια, τότε αἰφνίδιος αὐτοῖς ἐπίσταται ὄλεθρος) as travail comes upon a pregnant woman, and they will not escape. (4) But you, brethren, are not in darkness for the day [i.e., the day of the Lord] to surprise you like a thief. (5) For you are all sons of light and sons of the day; we are not of the night or of darkness . . . (9) For God has not destined (ἔθετο) us for wrath, but to obtain salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ (10) who died for us that . . . we might live with him.

Paul begins, perhaps in response to a question that he was asked, by introducing the topic of the timing of the upcoming eschatological events. In verse 2 he accentuates that the day of the Lord will come suddenly and unexpectedly, “like a thief in the night.” This notion



occurs in Luke 12:39–40 // Matt 24:42–44, (1) where the “thief in the night” metaphor is similarly used for the coming of the eschaton. The message is that there is no use to try to calculate the timing of the eschaton (see Matt 24:36, 38–39). The sudden and unexpected coming of the day of the Lord is described also in verse 3. Verse 4 takes up the inherited metaphor of “thief in the night” at verse 2, (2) but alters its meaning: the addressees, unlike the outsiders, are not in darkness, they are not in the night, and will not be surprised.

Verses 6–8 consist of an exhortation concerning the behavior required so as not to be surprised by the eschaton. It recalls Luke 21:34–36 and especially the exhortation to be prepared for the eschaton in Luke 12:35–37. Unlike the latter pericope, Paul uses military metaphors in verse 8, and in verses 5–8 the focus is on the dichotomy between “the sons of light” (the members of his community) and the “sons of darkness,” namely the outsiders. The members of both groups were destined either “for wrath” or “to obtain salvation” (verse 9). This phraseology is reminiscent of passages in the Dead Sea scrolls. (3)

(1) See, e.g., Joseph B. Lightfoot, *Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul from Unpublished Commentaries* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895), 72; Abraham J. Malherbe, *The Letters to the Thessalonians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 32B (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 290.

(2) It makes little difference for our discussion if the metaphor is inherited from general apocalyptic usage or from traditions attributed to Jesus that were known to Paul or current in Thessalonica.

(3) The similar dichotomy between the predestined “sons and light” and “sons of darkness” both here and in the scrolls (e.g., 1QS I 9–10) is immediately conspicuous (see Herbert Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament* [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1966], 1:234; Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, “Die Bedeutung der Qumrantexte für das Verständnis des Ersten Thessalonicherbriefes,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991*, ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, STDJ 11 [Leiden: Brill, 1992], 1.339–353, esp. 347–352; for a recent discussion see Claude Coulot, “La première épître de Paul aux Thessaloniens à la lumière des manuscrits de la Mer Morte,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, ed. Jean-Sébastien Rey, STDJ 102 [Brill: Leiden, 2014], 123–141, esp. 135–137). For the Pauline expression “sons of the day” compare also בני שחר, “sons of dawn” [4Q298 1–2 i 1]). More specifically, 1 Thess 5:9 —“For God has not destined us for wrath, but to obtain salvation” (ὅτι οὐκ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς εἰς ὀργὴν ἀλλὰ εἰς σωτηρίαν) —can be compared with a passage of the Hodayot, in which the righteous and the sinners are similarly described as destined either to salvation or to wrath. The Hodayot passage reads: רק אתה (27) ב[ר]אתה (28) צדיק ומרחם הכינותו למועד רצון . . . (29) ולפתוח כל צרת נפשו לישועת עולם . . . (29) ושלום עד . . . (30) ורשעים בראתה לקצי (?) חרונכה ומרחם הקדשתם ליום הרנה . . . (27) You alone [cre]ated (28) the righteous, and from the womb you prepared him for the time of favor . . . (29) and to relieve all the distress of his soul for eternal salvation and everlasting peace . . . (30) And the wicked you created for the times (?) of Your wrath, and from the womb you set them apart them for the day of slaughter . . . ” (1QH<sup>a</sup> VII 27–31; the reading follows Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*. 3 vols.,

As stated above, verse 4 is the direct continuation of verse 2: both refer to the day of the Lord that “will come like a thief in the night.” Verse 3 abruptly switches from “you” to “they,” and “the absence of any connecting particle (asyndeton) makes the relationship of this verse to the preceding one uncertain.” (4) It seems that verse 3 elaborates upon the idea of the sudden and unexpected coming of the day of the Lord (verse 2), but it also separates verses 2 and 4. (5) Several questions pose themselves: who are “they” who “say?” Is Paul disputing a specific group, as most commentators assume? (6) What is meant by “peace and security:” is it a biblical allusion to the false prophets of the Hebrew Bible who promised peace (Jer 6:14; 8:11; Ezek 13:10; Mic 3:5), or is it a reference to the Roman propaganda of *pax romana*? (7) Or, alternatively, should it be interpreted as related to Epicurean ideals? (8) What is the meaning of “when they say?” Scholars also noticed some stylistic peculiarities in verse 3. (9) Fee soberly asserts, concerning

Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 2010–2013], 1:66 [Hebrew]. The translation is based on Carol Newsom’s in Carol Newsom, Hartmut Stegemann, and Eileen Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1.III: 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>, with Incorporation of 4QHodayot<sup>a-1</sup> and 1QHodayot<sup>b</sup>*, DJD XL [Oxford: Clarendon, 2008].) The wording of the Hodayot is based on Jer 12:3 (“But You, O Lord know me . . . set them apart for the day of slaughter”) read in light of Jer 1:5 (“Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, and before you were born I set you apart”). The “sons of light” terminology is lacking in the preserved text of the Hodayot scrolls.

(4) Jeffrey A. D. Weima, *1–2 Thessalonians*, ECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker; 2014), 347–348.

(5) Verse 3 specifically deals with sinners. For this reason many commentators underscored not the similarity of verses 2 and 3 but rather the contrast between them, namely the contrast of “the believers in Thessalonica with those in their city who are causing their present grief” (Gordon D. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009], 190; see also Malherbe, *The Letters to the Thessalonians*, 291).

(6) See, for instance, Malherbe’s statement: “It is unusual for Paul to use an impersonal verb . . . Paul does not have to identify these people, for his readers know of whom he is writing . . . It has been thought that Paul used this critical language to describe the views of people in general, of unbelievers, or of the Thessalonians. Closer to the mark is the surmise that this is Paul’s own ironic formulation to describe the teaching of false teachers” (Malherbe, *The Letters to the Thessalonians*, 291–292 [the names of the scholars mentioned in parenthesis are omitted here]). On p. 302 Malherbe identifies the opponents of verse 3a with the false prophets in Thessalonica, and tries to describe their teaching.

(7) See especially Jeffrey A. D. Weima, “Peace and Security (1 Thess 5:3): Prophetic Warning or Political Propaganda?” *NTS* 58 (2012): 331–359.

(8) See Malherbe, *The Letters to the Thessalonians*, 303–305, esp. 304. For a thorough survey of scholarship on εἰρήνη καὶ ἀσφάλεια; Weima, *1–2 Thessalonians*, 348–353. For a more detailed scrutiny see *idem*, “Peace and Security.”

(9) According to Lightfoot (*Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul*, 72), “the dissimilarity that this verse presents to the ordinary style of St. Paul is striking. We seem suddenly to have stumbled on a passage out of the Hebrew prophets.” He concludes:

the identification of “they” in verse 3a: “All of this to note again that, with many other matters in Paul’s letters, we stand on the outside looking in, as it were, and lack the degree of certainty that we would like.” (10)

Fee’s remark is absolutely true for the study of Pauline writings as it is for other works of antiquity. Sometimes, however, an unexpected ray of light enables us to have a somewhat better view of a verse or a passage. I contend that verse 3a is a citation of a phrase of a Hebrew apocalypse.

## II

A Qumran fragment of the so-called Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q386 1 ii 7–10) reads: (11)

7. כאשר יאמרו היה השלום והשדך ואמרו תה[י]ה (12) הארץ
8. כאשר היתה בימי (13) קדם בכן אעיר [על]יהם חמ[ה]
9. [מאר]בע (14) רחות השמי[ם]
10. [כא]ש בערת כ[ן]

My translation differs from previous renderings of this text. (15)  
The Pauline passage (1 Thess 5:3a) helps to construe the syntax of the

“[It] seems not unlikely [that] the sentence is a direct quotation from our Lord’s words” (ibid.). Frame, following Lightfoot, remarked that the stylistic peculiarities “might suggest that Paul (a) is citing from a Jewish apocalypse, (b) or from an agraphon, or is writing under the influence either (c) of a Jewish apocalypse or (d) word of the Lord (as in verse 2).” Frame rejects, however, options (a) and (c), namely that verse 3 is citing a Jewish apocalypse or influenced by it; see James Everett Frame, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians*, ICC (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1912), 182–183. See also Béda Rigaux, “Tradition et rédaction dans 1 Th. 5:1–11,” *NTS* 21 (1975): 318–340, esp. 325: “une parole apocalyptique courante ou une parole de Jesus ... ‘lorsqu’on dira paix et sécurité’ pourrait être un emprunt à un langage traditionnel apocalyptique.” Malherbe (*The Letters to the Thessalonians*, 291) concludes because of similar reasons that Paul “is using traditional material.” Although I am not sure that these considerations are conclusive, they can be regarded at least as good intuitions (see below, section II).

(10) Fee, *First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*, 189 n. 26.

(11) Devorah Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, DJD XXX (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 63–66; Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:86 (Hebrew).

(12) Qimron (ibid.) has suggested the reading תהי; now, however, he prefers the reading תהיה (oral communication).

(13) There is no vacat after the word בימי. There is a large space between these words because the parchment upon which they were written was physically damaged at this spot prior to writing.

(14) One letter can be reconstructed at the beginning of the line. The reconstruction of mem [=“from”] is quite uncertain.

(15) “As they shall say ‘peace and tranquility have come,’ and they shall say ‘the land sh[a]ll be as it was in the days of [ ] old.’ Then I will raise upon them wra[th]

Hebrew text and consequently to translate this passage adequately, as following:

7. When they say “there is peace and tranquility” and say “the land is
8. as it was in the days of old,” (16) then I will stir [against] them wr[ath]
9. [from] (17) the [fo]ur winds of heaven [
10. [As a] burning f[ire]

The wording of 1 Thess 5:3a is strikingly similar to the Qumran fragment, almost word-for-word:

1 Thess 5:3	4QPseudo-Ezekiel	
ὁταν	כאשר	when
λέγουσιν	יאמרו	they say
	היה	there is
εἰρήνη	השלום	peace
καὶ ἀσφάλεια	והשדך	and tranquility/security
τότε	בכן	then
CALAMITY	CALAMITY	CALAMITY
αὐτοῖς	על[יהם]	upon them

Both Paul and Pseudo-Ezekiel describe an eschatological calamity that comes when “they say <there is> peace and tranquility.” (18)

from the [fo]ur corners of the heaven[s]” (Dimant, DJD XXX, 63). According to Dimant, the words **כאשר יאמרו** “introduce a quotation from a saying (indicated by the preposition **כאשר** + imperfect), or from Scripture. It may refer to 1 Chr 22:9.” According to Qimron (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2:86) the words **כאשר יאמרו** mean “as people say,” and the word **היה** should be understood as an optative (**היה**). Similarly, Qimron reads **והארץ**, as an optative (in an oral communication [April 2019], Qimron reads the two verbs in the indicative; he reads now **תהיה**). García Martínez and Tigchelaar render these lines: “Thus, as they say: ‘There was peace and order,’ they will say ‘... the land, as there was in the days of old.’ Therefore I will stir [against] them wrath [from the fo]ur winds of the heaven[s]” (Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition* [Leiden: Brill, 1999], 777). Wise, Abegg and Cook offer the following translation: “As they shall say ‘There was peace and quiet,’ they shall say ‘The land shall be as it was in the days of [. . .] old.’ Therefore, I shall arouse wra[th] u[pon] them f[rom the fo]ur winds of the hea[vens]” (Michael Wise, Martin Abegg and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* [San Francisco: HarperOne, 2005], 449).

(16) Jer 46:26 is perhaps most relevant, because both Jeremiah’s prophecy and our passage deal with Egypt. **הארץ**, “the land,” is therefore not necessarily the Land of Israel (contrast Dimant, DJD XXX, 66).

(17) See above, n. 14.

(18) The additional sentence in Pseudo-Ezekiel—“and say, ‘the land is as it was in the days of old’” (i.e., restored, and flourishes as it was “in the days of old”; see above, n. 16)—has the same function. I do not think that the suggestion that Paul cites a proverb, “as often as men say” is likely (see e.g., Ernest Best, *The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians*, Black’s New Testament Commentary [London: Black,

The meaning is that God's final wrath (Qumran) or destruction (Paul) will come upon the sinners when there will be a general feeling that everything is peaceful. (19) This idea is expressed in almost identical wording in both texts. The word שדך ("tranquility") (20) is perhaps not *strictly* equivalent to ἀσφάλεια ("stability, security"), (21) but its meaning is close enough; it seems plausible that the Greek hendiadys εἰρήνη καὶ ἀσφάλεια is used here instead of the Hebrew hendiadys השלום והשדך. (23) The eschatological context of the Qumran verse is clear: at the beginning of the fragment the Prophet Ezekiel asks God *when* He will gather the people of Israel. Lines 7–10 are part of God's answer to this question. Apparently, the process of eschatological redemption is described in these lines. They also indicate the timing of divine deliverance to those who understand the historical events mentioned in the text. As we saw above, Paul begins his discussion with the timing of the eschaton (verses 1–2); in the eschatological context of these verses it would be quite suitable to cite an apocalyptic phrase in verse 3. This citation illustrates the unexpected coming of the Day in verse 2, and—as stated above—separates verse 4 from verse 2. (24)

Unfortunately, the Qumran fragment breaks here. We therefore do not know whether the text in the following lines of Pseudo-Ezekiel is similar in any way to 1 Thess 5:3b. Of course, the apocalyptic phrase cited by Paul in verse 3a is not necessarily derived from Pseudo-Ezekiel. Moreover, the wording in Pseudo-Ezekiel is remarkably abrupt; apparently there is no grammatical antecedent to the plural form יאמרו, "they say." (25) It is therefore conceivable that this formula was transferred to the passage of Pseudo-Ezekiel from some other apocalyptic context.

1977], 207). Similarly unlikely is the suggestion that Pseudo-Ezekiel cites a proverb (Dimant, DJD XXX, 63), especially when the two texts are read together.

(19) God's wrath is mentioned in verse 9.

(20) On the word שדך see Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1990), 538 (שדך), 539 (שדך); idem, *A Dictionary of Christian Palestinian Aramaic* (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 414; Abraham Tal, *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 873; see also below, n. 22.

(21) See Ceslas Spicq, *Theological Lexicon of the New Testament* (Peabody, Mass: Hendrikson, 1994), 1.212–219.

(22) For the Hebrew and Aramaic hendiadys השלום והשדך see Moshe Florentin, *Late Samaritan Hebrew: A Linguistic Analysis of its Different Types*, SSSL 43 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 303–305; Abraham Tal, "From Qumran to Shekhem on Hidden Paths," *Meghillot* 7 (2009): 227–235, esp. 230–232 (Hebrew), and see above, n. 20.

(23) Similarly, εἰρήνη καὶ ἀσφάλεια in our verse is rendered in the Peshitta by the Syriac hendiadys ܡܫܠܡܬܐ ܕܥܡܢܐ.

(24) An apocalyptic and dualistic atmosphere and phraseology can however be discerned throughout the whole passage; see above, n. 3.

(25) The word ירם in line 6 is also in the plural. It has been interpreted as referring to the preceding sentence ואת בני ארצא ממך "and My sons I will drive out of

### III

The integrative study of Paul and Qumran is helpful for the understanding of both texts. The Hebrew sentence of Pseudo-Ezekiel is syntactically ambiguous, and has been rendered in various ways, all of them different from the rendering I suggest. (26) The Pauline passage thus allows us to offer a better translation of the Hebrew. This integrative study likewise eliminates some possible readings of the Pauline text.

If Paul did make use of an apocalyptic phrase, some more general lessons can be drawn. *First*, 1 Thess 5:3a has been interpreted by many scholars as alluding to verses of the Hebrew Bible. (27) Although there can be no doubt concerning the profound impact of the Hebrew scriptures on the Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, and on Paul, the key for interpreting these texts can sometimes be found elsewhere, as seems to be the case in this verse. *Secondly*, it undermines the general assumption of the commentators that Paul reacts in verse 3a to some concrete arguments of his opponents: if Paul only *makes use* of an existing phrase for his own purposes, (28) the specific views both of addressees and opponents in Thessalonica are of less importance for elucidating the sentence. Similarly, the hendiadys “peace and security” as Paul puts it may well reflect a Roman slogan, (29) but the Hebrew hendiadys “peace and tranquility” is a common expression, and probably does not refer to the Roman empire. (30) If, as I contend, the Greek phraseology renders a Hebrew one, the sentence should not necessarily be interpreted as aimed at specific attitudes of Paul’s opponents or addressees, even if Paul made use of a current hendiadys. *Thirdly*, Paul’s *Greek* text should be read against the background of the *Hebrew* phrase quoted in it, at least in this case. (31) While no inference should

Memphis.” But the sentence “when they say ... I will stir [against] them” (lines 7–8) can hardly refer to the Israelites (“My sons”). If the word רשעים refers to the wicked ones, it has no grammatical antecedent: lines 3, 4, and 6 mention a wicked figure in the singular (בן בליעל, רשע, טמא).

(26) For previous translations see above, n. 15.

(27) Jer 6:14; 8:11; Ezek 13:10; Mic 3:5.

(28) E.g., to illustrate the suddenness of the destruction of the day of the Lord (upon the sinners).

(29) Weima, “Peace and Security” (above, n. 7).

(30) Dimant (DJD XXX, 65) considers the possibility that the collocation “peace and tranquility” alludes to 1 Chr 22:9. This collocation, however, occurs in various Hebrew and Aramaic contexts (see above, n. 22), as Dimant shows. She mentions the biblical formula ותשקט הארץ (Judg 3:11; 5:31; 8:28) as well as 1 Macc 14:4, “where the same biblical phrase is applied to the reign of Simeon Maccabeus.” It may well be that Pseudo-Ezekiel was composed before the Roman conquest of Judea.

(31) It is of course possible that the Hebrew phrase was known to Paul through a Greek translation. I find it likely, however, based on other grounds, that Paul knew Hebrew and was bilingual.

be drawn from this specific case by way of induction, it modestly enhances the reading of Pauline texts in the context of Palestinian Judaism, and in relation to non-biblical Hebrew texts, phrases, and conceptions.

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## IS MUR 5 A MEZUZAH?

THE second volume in the DJD series, dedicated to the finds from the caves of Wadi Murabba'at, includes a section entitled "Textes littéraires." (1) Under this rubric, Józef T. Milik assembled fragments of four biblical manuscripts (Mur 1–3), a tefillin (Mur 4), a non-Masoretic psalm addressing Zion (Mur 6), and a fragment written in miniscule letters (Mur 5). (2) The latter is a narrow strip of leather, 46 mm high and 6 mm wide. (3) Milik counted here 27 lines of text inscribed in a semi-cursive script ~0.5 mm high. Unable to decipher the letters, he assumed that such a tiny script befits a tefillin or a mezuzah. Since the leather of the fragment was thicker than that of the tefillin Mur 4, Milik tentatively classified Mur 5 as a mezuzah. (4)

Shortly after the release of DJD 2, Hartmut Stegemann and Jürgen Becker revisited Mur 5. (5) Unlike Milik, they suggested that the fragment contains 29 lines of text. According to them, the average height of the letters is 1 mm, whereas the average distance between the lines

\* We are grateful to the anonymous reader for her/his insightful comments. Our thanks are to Dr. Pnina Shor, Ms. Orit Rosengarten, and Ms. Yael Barschak of the IAA for providing us with the new images of Mur 5, and to Mr. Zachary Poppen for improving the language and style of this contribution.

(1) Pierre Benoit, Józef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux, *Les Grottes de Murabba'ât*, DJD 2/1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 75–86.

(2) On Mur 6, see the new edition and commentary in Ariel Feldman, "An Overlooked Psalm Addressing Zion from Wadi Murabba'at," *JBL* (forthcoming).

(3) Milik, DJD 2:85.

(4) Milik, DJD 2:85. He also suggested that the leather apparently had not been split into grain and flesh splits. On this practice see recently Ira Rabin, "Material Analysis of the Fragments," in *Gleanings from the Caves*, ed. Torleif Elgvin, Kipp Davis, and Michael Langlois, LSTS 71 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 61–77 (63).

(5) Hartmut Stegemann and Jürgen Becker, "Zum Text von Fragment 5 aus Wadi Murabba'at," *RevQ* 3 (1961): 443–48.

is 1.5 mm. (6) For lines 2 and 5, Stegemann and Becker proposed the following readings corresponding to Deut. 11:13–14: (7)

2 יהוה אלהיכם ולעבדו  
5 ויתירשכ[ה]

Finally, they questioned Milik's classification of Mur 5 as a mezuzah and suggested that this could be a tefillah.

Recently, Mur 5 was reimaged for the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. (8) These images confirm Milik's measurements of the fragment (46 × 6 mm) and Stegemann and Becker's count of the lines (29 in total). The interlinear spaces are 1.2–1.8 mm, while the letters' height varies between 0.9 and 1.3 mm. The bottom right corner of the fragment appears to preserve a right margin (1.8 mm at max). Yet the precise nature of this uninscribed space is somewhat unclear, as the new infrared image reveals a trace of a letter, an ink or an imprint, to the right of פרעה (line 27).

While the new images are a major improvement upon the single early infrared photograph PAM 40.347, the task of deciphering Mur 5 presents several challenges. (9) First, the new images suggest a presence of multiple imprints of letters, presumably due to folding. (10) It is often difficult to ascertain whether a given trace is an actual letter or an imprint of another text. Second, the scribe seems to have left no (or very little) spaces between the adjacent words. Third, at some point during the conservation process the fragment was glued to a rice paper. In a few spots, especially at the left end of lines 24–25, the crumbling pieces appear to have been positioned incorrectly. (11) In light of these considerations, the preliminary readings proposed below should be taken with a grain of salt. Still, there appears to be enough legible text to question the identification of Mur 5 as a mezuzah or a tefillah.

(6) Stegemann and Becker, "Zum Text von Fragment 5," 444.

(7) Stegemann and Becker, "Zum Text von Fragment 5," 447.

(8) As this article is submitted for publication, the images have not yet been uploaded to The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library website.

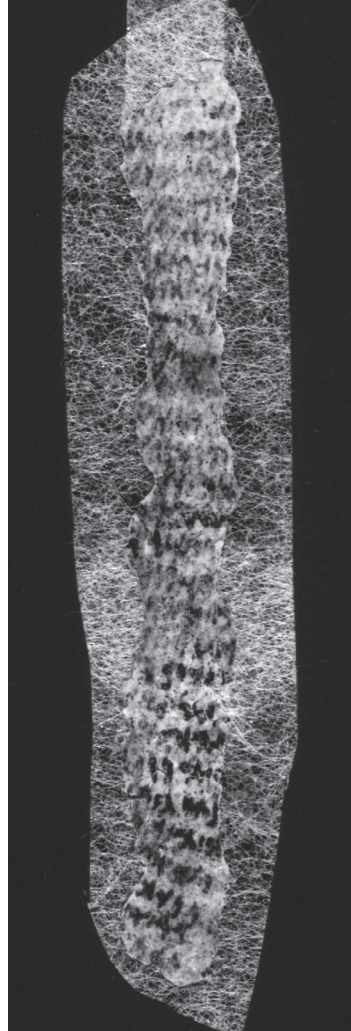
(9) PAM 40.347 is available at <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/MUR5-1>.

(10) As was pointed out by the anonymous reviewer. Indeed, it is very likely that this strip of leather is a part of a larger text that was folded.

(11) A reddish stain on line 9 could be a drop of glue used to attach the fragment to the rice paper.

## Text and Translation

	יֹסֶ [	1
	]וֹסֹס [	2
	]כֹּסִלְגֹּס [	3
	]נֹוֹ ׀׀׀׀ [	4
	]יֹסִיֹּס [	5
	]רֹסִיֹּשׁ [	6
7. ]he will bring us[	]יִבְאִנֹּו [	7
8. ]to you in (the) lan[d	]לְךָ בְּאַרְצֶךָ [	8
9. Y]HWH (is) [your] heal[er	]יְהוָה רִפְּנֶאךָ [	9
10. ]his hand ..[	]יְדֹוֹס [	10
	]׀ ׀׀ ׀ [	11
	]לְהָ [	12
	]׀׀׀׀׀ [	13
	]׀׀׀׀׀׀ [	14
	]׀׀׀׀׀׀ [	15
	]׀׀׀׀׀׀ [	16
	]׀׀׀׀׀׀ [	17
	]כִּי צִ׀׀׀ [	18
	]׀׀׀׀׀׀׀ [	19
20. ]swore (and?) because[	]נִשְׁבַּעְעֹכִין [	20
	]׀׀׀׀׀׀׀ [	21
	]׀׀׀׀׀׀׀׀ [	22
	]׀׀׀׀׀׀׀ [	23
	]׀׀׀׀׀׀׀׀ [	24
25. Y]HWH..[	]יְהוָה׀׀ [	25
	]יִשׁוֹ׀ [	26
27. ] Pharaoh[	]פַּרְעֹה [	27
	]יִשׁ׀ [	28
29. ] and he went down[	]יִרְדָּ׀ [	29

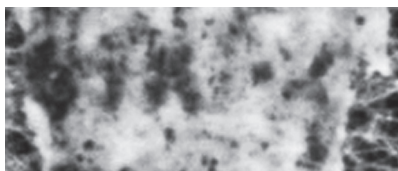


Mur 5. Courtesy of The Leon Levy  
Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library,  
IAA; photographer: Shai Halevi

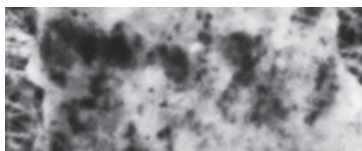
## Notes to Readings



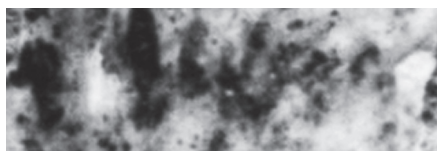
**Line 7** [יְבִיאֲנוּ]. The first letter is either a *vav* or a *yod*. The shape of the second letter is consistent with a *bet*, though the base stroke is rather faint. The vertical stroke next to it is most likely a *vav/yod*. Its upper tip appears to merge with the right stroke of an *aleph*. The medial *nun* and a *vav/yod* are relatively well preserved.



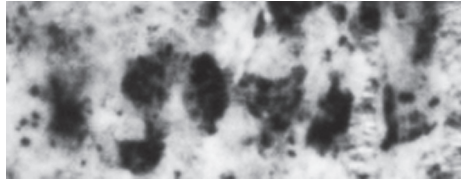
**Line 8** [לִבְאֲרֵךְ]. The elevated hook-shaped stroke may belong to a *lamed*. A final *kaph* seems to follow. Next comes a slightly elevated horizontal stroke descending to the left. Above it there is some smudged ink. We tentatively read it as a *bet*. The next two letters could be an *aleph* and a *resh*. The last letter is illegible. A final *tsade* is a contextually plausible guess.



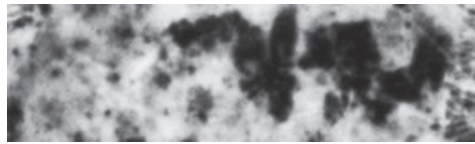
**Line 9** [יְהוֹה רַב־אֶךְ]. The reading of the first three letters assumes that the first *he* is represented by a vertical stroke and a faint trace of a horizontal stroke. *Vav* runs through the right leg of the second *he*. The penultimate letter appears to be a *resh*. A medial *pe* is visible rather well on the new infrared image.



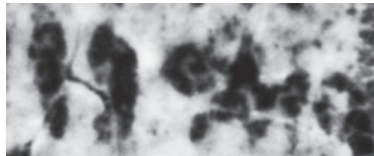
**Line 16** [וַיִּשְׁנֵהוּ]. The traces preceding the first *vav/yod* might be read as a *shin* and a low-positioned *dalet*, וַיִּשְׁנֵהוּ.



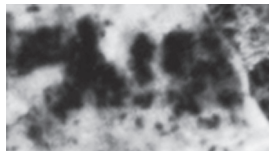
**Line 20** נ.שׁבֿעֹכֶן. The small *shin* is detached from the *bet* due to a crack in the leather. The third letter seems to be partially obstructed by the bottom tip of the *tsade* from line 19. The slant of its vertical strike suggests that this might be an *ayin*. The penultimate letter could also be read as a *bet*.



**Line 22** הוֹהוֹוֹ. A vertical stroke curving to the left might be a medial *nun* or a left leg of a *tav*. The second letter is most likely a *he*. The third letter is probably a *vav/yod*, though a *zayin* cannot be ruled out. The fourth letter at first glance appears to be a large *he*. However, a closer inspection indicates that this might be a *resh* followed by a *yod/vav*, the latter's vertical stroke being damaged in the middle. This sequence of letters may lead to various readings (e.g., נְהוֹרִי, as in נְהוֹרִי אֲוִירִים [4Q286 1 a, ii, b: 3]).



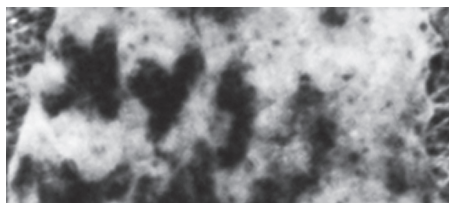
**Line 23** וִוִוִוִו. The two best preserved letters in this line appear to be a *resh* (cf. *resh* in פֶּרֶעָה, line 27) and a *vav/yod/zayin*. Immediately prior to the *resh*, there is a cluster of strokes. Perhaps this is a *shin* followed by a vertical stroke of a *vav/yod*. Such a reading assumes a shape of a *shin* that differs from other *shin* letters in this fragment. Directly before it there is a trace of a vertical stroke. All together these traces may lead to a reading וִוִוִוִוִו.



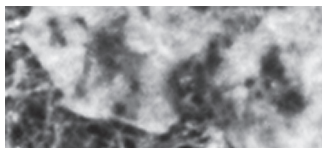
**Line 25** וִוִוִוִו. The second letter is an undulating vertical stroke curving to the right at the top. Hence, it could also be read as a *zayin*, וִוִוִוִו.



**Line 26** יִשׁוּיִן. The traces at the end of the line are illegible.



**Line 27** פִּרְעָה. There is a trace of a letter to the right of פִּרְעָה. It is unclear whether this is ink or an imprint. (12)



**Line 29** וִיִּרְדֵּן. The first letter is a *vav/yod*. The second letter is partially destroyed by a crack in the parchment. However, a trace reminiscent of a hook of a *vav/yod* is visible on the new infrared image. The third letter appears to be a *resh*. The fourth letter has a long roof with a tip at its left extremity similar to a *dalet*.

## Discussion

Due to its tiny script, all who studied Mur 5 assumed that it is either a mezuzah or a tefillah. (13) The rabbinic sources prescribe

(12) Regarding this line the anonymous reviewer observes that “the narrow head of *resh*, the form of *ayin* (a *v* shape with extension of the right stroke), and the diagonal left leg of *he*, meeting the right leg in an angle ..., indicate the script which Cross would characterize as ... archaic-early Hasmonean.”

(13) On tefillin and mezuzot from the Judean Desert, see, recently, Yehudah B. Cohn, *Tangled Up in Text: Tefillin and the Ancient World*, Brown Judaic Studies (Providence: Brown University, 2008), 55–102; David Nakman, “The Contents and the Order of the Biblical Sections in the Tefillin from Qumran and Rabbinic Halakhah,” *Cathedra* 112 (2004): 19–44 (Hebrew); idem, “Tefillin and Mezuzot at Qumran,” in *The Qumran Scrolls and Their World*, ed. Menahem Kister, Between Bible and Mishnah

Exod 13:1–16; Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–21 for a tefillin and Deut 6:4–9; 11:13–21 for a mezuzah. (14) Tefillin and mezuzot from the Judean Desert often include larger chunks of text from both Exodus (12:43–13:16) and Deuteronomy (5:1–6:9; 10:12–11:21). (15) Upon a first reading the relatively well-preserved word פִּרְעָה in line 27 supports an identification of Mur 5 as a tefillah or a mezuzah. Both Exod 13:15 and Deut 11:3, included in some tefillin and mezuzot from the Judean Desert (4QPhyl A, J, K, P; 8QPhyl[?]; 8QMez), mention Pharaoh. However, the rest of the legible text of Mur 5 does not match that of Exodus or Deuteronomy. Although tentative, the proposed readings suggest that both the top and the bottom of the fragment may refer to the events of Exodus. Line 27 clearly mentions Pharaoh, whereas lines 7–8 seem to juxtapose a phrase “[h]e will bring us[ ]” to a reference to the Promised Land, “[t]o you in (the) lan[d]”. The Song of the Sea (Exod 15:5) depicts the fate of Pharaoh’s armies using a form of יִרָד attested to in line 29. The reconstructed line 9, “Y]HWH (is) [your] heal[er],” also follows Exod 15, in this case v. 26.

A text alluding to Exodus would be quite at home among the many texts from the Judean Desert that make use of that story. These range from rewriting (e.g., Jub. 46–49), to liturgy (e.g., Words of the Luminaries [4Q504 III (frag. 6)]), to paraenesis (e.g., 4Q368 2, 10 i 7–8). Still, physical features of Mur 5 set it apart from all of these texts. Its tiny script, akin to that of tefillin, implies that it could have hardly been intended for reading. If so, what purpose might it have served?

One possibility to consider is that the miniscule Mur 5 had an apotropaic function. (16) Later Jewish amulets and incantations feature

(Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2009), 143–55 (Hebrew); Yonatan Adler, “The Content and Order of the Scriptural Passages in Tefillin: A Reexamination of the Early Rabbinic Sources in Light of the Evidence from the Judean Desert,” in *Halakha in Light of Epigraphy*, ed. Albert I. Baumgarten et al., JAJSup 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 205–29; Emanuel Tov, “The Tefillin from the Judean Desert and the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible,” in *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 277–92.

(14) Nakman, “Tefillin and Mezuzot at Qumran,” 154.

(15) Cohn, *Tangled Up*, 63, 66. This is not the place to address the curious problem of distinguishing between mezuzot and tefillin. See further Cohn, *ibid.*, 60–62, who argues for a possibility that mezuzot from the Judean Desert are, in fact, tefillin.

(16) Nakman, “The Contents and the Order,” 35–37, suggests that 4QPhyl N (4Q141) containing Deut 32:14–20, 32–33 is an amulet. Cf. also the recently published miniature text of Gen 36:7–16 from the Schøyen Collection (DSS F.Gen1; DSS F.101; 4Q(?)GenMiniature). While its authenticity is disputed, a recent study suggested that it might have been used as an apotropaic text. See Kipp Davis “Memories of Amalek (4Q252 4:1–3): The Imprecatory Function of the Edomite Genealogy in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Is There a Text in This Cave?*, 164–84 (177–80).



Exod 15:26, (17) as well as the story of Exodus, particularly the divine punishment of Pharaoh. (18) While this suggestion must remain at the level of mere speculation, it is hoped that further inquiry into Mur 5 will shed more light on this intriguing fragment. (19)

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(17) For a discussion and an overview of the evidence, see Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 57, 299, 309, 339, 377–79. Verbal forms of שִׁבְעָ (found in line 20) and the divine name Shaddai (which might be read in line 16 [see Notes to Readings]) are also often used in later Jewish apotropaic texts. For the former, see Yuval Harari, “What is a Magical Text? Methodological Reflections Aimed at Redefining Early Jewish Magic,” in *Officina Magica: Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity*, ed. Shaul Shaked (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 91–123 (119). For the latter, see, e.g., Amulet 12 line 27 in Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1987), 96. For a recently published amulet using a form of שִׁבְעָ and quoting Deut 6:4–7, see Émile Puech, “Une amulette judéo-palestinienne bilingue en argent,” *Meghillot* 5–6 (2007): \*177–\*186.

(18) See Pieter W. van der Horst, “‘The God Who Drowned the King of Egypt’: A Short Note on an Exorcistic Formula,” in idem, *Jews and Christians in Their Graeco-Roman Context*, WUNT 196 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 280–84; Gideon Bohak, “The Uses of Cosmogonic Myths in Ancient Jewish Magic,” *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 13 (2011): 93–107. In addition to the sources cited in these two studies, note a possible allusion to the story of Exodus in 11Q11 III, 2–3: מִי עָשָׂה אֵת הָאוֹתוֹת / וְאֵת הַמִּצְוֹת הָאֵלֹהִים בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם, as observed by Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude in DJD 23:194.

(19) For another text from the Judean Desert that was initially classified as a tefillin, but may, in fact, be an amulet, see our “4Q147: An Amulet?” *DSD* (forthcoming).

## THE FINAL WORDS OF PROVERBS 14:33–35

4Q103 frags. 5–6, 7 col. 1, 8–10 +  
PAM 43.677 frag. 11

**T**HE Rockefeller Museum plate #40 with unidentified fragments, photographed in 1960 on PAM 43.677, (1) contained a fragment (PAM 43.677 frag. 11) which should be placed 0.2–0.4 cm to the left of 4Q103 (4QProv<sup>b</sup>) frag. 5 in lines 2–6, with remnants of Prov 14:32–15:1. (2) It joins physically to the bottom edge of 4Q103 frag. 7 i (preserving the bottom of *qof* of צדיק) and the top edge of 4Q103 frag. 9 (preserving the head of *pe* of אף). The transcription is straightforward, and with the PAM 43.677 fragment, which we may number 4Q103 frag. 16 (3) (underlined), the lines of 4Q103 frags. 5–6, 7 col. 1, 8–10 should now be read:

1    [ברעת]י[י] דחה רשע]	וח]סֶה במותו [צ]דיק
2    [בלב נבן] תנוה חכמה	ובקרב כסילי]ם תודע

(1) Published by Dana M. Pike and Andrew C. Skinner, *Qumran Cave 4, XXIII: Unidentified Fragments*, DJD 33 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 103–15 and pl. XVIII. The photograph of PAM 43.677 is also accessible online: [www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285456](http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285456).

(2) For the edition of 4Q103, cf. Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4, XI: Psalms to Chronicles*, DJD 16 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 183–86, pl. XXIV. Henceforth: DJD 16.

(3) The DJD edition numbers the fragments from 1 through 15. However, Émile Puech, “Identifications des nouveaux manuscrits bibliques : *Deutéronome et Proverbes* dans les débris de la grotte 4,” *RevQ* 20/77 (2001): 121–27, assigned the minute frag. 15 together with another small fragment to a different Proverbs manuscript which he calls 4Q103<sup>a</sup>. I do not think that the extremely limited textual evidence on these two fragments warrants the identification of a third Cave 4 Proverbs manuscript.

וַחֲסֹר (4) לֵאמֹים [ח] טֹאֵת	3 [צדקה] תְּרוּמָה גוֹי
וְעִבְרָתוֹ תִּהְיֶה מִבִּישׁ	4 [רצון מלך] לַעֲבֹד מִשְׁכִּיל
וְדָבָר עֲצָב יַעֲלֶה אֵף	5 [מענה רך] יִשְׁכַּח [ח] מְ[ה]

In its other fragments 4Q103 is very close to the Masoretic Text. (5) It therefore does not surprise that the few now recovered words on PAM 43.677 frag. 11 (4Q103 frag. 16) correspond to MT. Text-critically more interesting than the recovered words is the question whether 4Q103 read, with MT, in Prov 14:33 **וּבִקְרֹב כְּסִילִים תּוֹדַע** or, with most other witnesses, **וּבִקְרֹב כְּסִילִים לֹא תּוֹדַע**. (6) The textual alignment and reconstruction in the other lines of the fragment indicates that in 4Q103 there was not enough space for an additional **לֹא**.

Already by the early 1990s, PAM 43.677 frag. 11 was not anymore located on the museum plate #40. This was not due to a proper identification and subsequent transference of the fragment. Museum plate #1153 with 4Q102 and 4Q103 does not contain this fragment, (7) so that its present location is still unknown. As for the other fragments (3, 7, 8, 21, 24, 28, 30, and 36) that are no longer located on museum plate #40, frag. 7 has been transferred to plate #96 and is now numbered PAM 43.691 frag. 56; PAM 43.677 frag. 21 has been identified as 4Q61 frag. 3, and is now on plate #175; the two pieces of PAM 43.677 frag. 24 have been transferred to plate #96 and are now numbered PAM 43.691 frags. 57–58). It often is unclear why fragments are missing from the plates on which they were placed. (8) Frag. 11 shows at its bottom left that another layer stuck behind the upper layer. The fragment may have been removed from plate #40 in an attempt to separate the the different layers of the fragment.

(4) Thus the DJD 16 edition. Or read *dalet* as the last letter.

(5) See DJD 16, 183.

(6) See, e.g., the discussion in Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs: An Eclectic Edition with Introduction and Textual Commentary* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 228–29.

(7) See the present state of plate #1153 in [www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-371214](http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-371214). On the unpublished fragments that were found on earlier photographs on plate #1153, notably on PAM 43.016 and 43.563, see Puech, “Identifications.”

(8) On such “missing” fragments from the plates of unidentified fragments, see Eibert Tigchelaar, “On the Unidentified Fragments of DJD XXXIII and PAM 43.680: A New Manuscript of 4QNarrative and Poetic Composition, and Fragments of 4Q13, 4Q269, 4Q525 and 4QSb (?)” *RevQ* 21/83 (2004): 477–85.

ADDENDUM: PAM 43.677 FRAG. 11 AND THE MISTAKEN  
IDENTIFICATION WITH 4Q165

The identification of PAM 43.677 frag. 11 with 4Q103 (Prov. 14:33–35), established textually and materially, invalidates an earlier identification which I initially had overlooked. In 1970, Strugnell identified this same fragment as belonging to 4Q165 (4QpIsa<sup>c</sup>). He explained lines 1–2 as the remnants of a *peshet*, and 3–5 as a quotation of Isa 11:11–12. (9) Due to Strugnell's identification with 4Q165, the fragment was transferred to Museum Plate 587 which had the other 4Q165 fragments. The new photographs of the fragment show that Strugnell's readings of lines 3 and 4 on which the identification with Isa 11:11 was based are untenable. (10)

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(9) John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des «Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan», " *RevQ* 7/26 (1970): 163–276, at 199 and 257 (Pl. 1g).

(10) For the infrared image, cf. <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-364614>.

## FRAGMENTS DES LIVRES DE *JOSUÉ* ET DES *CHRONIQUES* DANS LA GROTTÉ 4, *4Q47<sup>A</sup>* ET *4Q118 2-3* ?

**L**a participation à divers congrès sur les livres historiques de la Bible m'a été l'occasion de collationner les restes de ces livres retrouvés dans les grottes de la région de Qumrân. Ce faisant, quelques menus fragments parmi les non-identifiés de la Grotte 4 paraissent pouvoir leur être attribués ou du moins leur être rapprochés.

### **I - Fragment d'une autre copie du Livre de Josué : *4Q47a* - *4QJos<sup>c</sup>***

La lecture d'un fragment en PAM 42.082 parmi les non identifiés par l'équipe internationale des années 1950 m'avait d'abord paru devoir être identifié à 1 R 7,46-47. Mais l'absence de trace d'une base de *bet*, ligne 1, fait quelque difficulté pour une identification assurée à *4QRois*. Si elle était retenue, le frg. attesterait une variante *במעבין* au lieu de *במעבה*, fautif du TM. Mais grâce à de meilleures reproductions numérisées, il doit maintenant clairement être identifié à Jos 22,7-8, à lire ainsi : (1) (Figure 1)



(1) Emile Puech, « Nouvelles identifications de manuscrits bibliques dans la grotte 4 : *4QRois<sup>a</sup>* (*4Q54<sup>a</sup>*) et *4QRois<sup>b</sup>*-*4Q54<sup>b</sup>*(?) ou *4QIs<sup>a</sup>*-*4Q69<sup>c</sup>*(?) », *RdQ* 99 (2012) 467-472, p. 467-469. Le frg. ne peut pas être identifié à *4QN<sup>b</sup>* à orthographe pleine et surface réglée, et 2 Ch 4,18 parallèle à 1 R 7,47 *במעבין*. Tout compte fait, le fragment doit maintenant être identifié à Jos 22,7-8 pour une colonne de quelque 16-17 cm, comme seul frg. d'une nouvelle copie de Josué = *4QJos<sup>c</sup>*. Grâce aux photographies numérisées bien plus claires, je corrige ma proposition précédente.

<sup>1</sup> ולחצי שבט המנשה נתן משה בבשן ולחציו נתן יהושע עם אחיהם [מעבר]  
הירדן ימה וגם כי שלחם יהושע אל אהליהם ויברכם  
<sup>2</sup> ויאמר אליהם לאמר בנכסים רבים שובו אל אהליכם ובמקנה רב מאד [בכסף]  
ובזהב ובנחשת ובברזל ובשלמות הרבה מאד  
<sup>3</sup> חלקו שלל איביכם עם אחכם  
*vacat*

Le peu de texte préservé (maximum 0,8 × 1,5 cm) ne laisse pas entrevoir de variante textuelle. Interligne de 0,7 cm et hauteur des lettres entre 1,5 et 2 mm, pas de trace de réglage visible mais la surface fait défaut pour l'affirmer. La copie en orthographe défective donne une largeur de colonne d'environ 17 cm, la plus large de toutes les copies du livre de *Josué*, 4Q47, 4Q48, 4Q123-4Qpaléo*Josué*, et X*Josué*. À ce sujet, on peut comparer les copies de 4QLv-Nb<sup>a</sup> circa le milieu du 2<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. ou le troisième quart, 4QDt<sup>h</sup> circa le troisième quart du 1<sup>er</sup> s. v. J.-C., 4QJr<sup>a</sup> circa 200 av. J.-C., 4QJr<sup>b</sup> circa 2<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., 4QXII<sup>c</sup> circa la première moitié du 1<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C., etc.

L'écriture de ce frg., désormais 4Q47<sup>a</sup> - 4QJos<sup>c</sup> (au lieu de la précédente proposition 4Q54<sup>a</sup>), daterait du deuxième quart du 2<sup>e</sup> s., circa 175-150 av. J.-C, ce qui en fait le seul témoin de la plus ancienne copie de *Josué* parmi les trois autres retrouvées dans la grotte 4. (2)

## II - Fragments du manuscrit du *Livre des Chroniques* : 4Q118 2 et 3 (?) - 4QCh 2 et 3 (?)

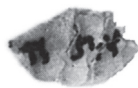
Parmi les fragments non identifiés de la Grotte 4 figurent deux fragments qui semblent devoir être regroupés avec l'unique fragment identifié comme copie du *Livre des Chroniques*. (3)

1 - Sur la Planche PAM 43.672, le fragment 75 (4) a conservé des restes de lettres à lire אַתְּ הָ. Cette séquence à l'écriture comparable à celle de 4Q118 paraît pouvoir être rapportée à 4Q118 ii 6 en lisant ainsi : (Figure 2)

(2) C'est le plus ancien témoin de ce livre, voir E. Puech, « Les copies du livre de *Josué* dans les manuscrits de la mer Morte: 4Q47, 4Q48, 4Q123 et X*Josué* », *RB* 122 (2015) 481-506, y ajouter maintenant 4Q47<sup>a</sup>.

(3) Voir J. Trebolle Barrera, « 118. 4QChr », in *Qumran Cave 4 : XI Psalms to Chronicles*, ed. by E. Ulrich et alii (*DJD* XVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 295-96 et E. Puech, « Les livres des Chroniques et les manuscrits de Qumrân : les *Apocryphes* 4Q118, 4Q381 et 4Q282p et la Prière de Manassé », in *Colloquio biblico: Il libro delle Chronache. Facoltà Teologica di Sicilia, Palermo 23 marzo 2018*, a cura di A. Passaro e G. Bellia, (à paraître).

(4) Voir *Qumran Cave 4 . XXIII. Unidentified Fragments*, by D.M. Pike and A.S. Skinner with a contribution by T.L. Szink (*DJD* XXXIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), p. 59, lecture minimale, sans nulle autre indication.



75  
0 1 cm

6 פתח את דלת בית יהוה ויחזקם<sup>4</sup> ויבא את הכהנים

Sans joint direct, ce placement n'est qu'une possibilité certes parmi les probabilités, et il pourrait recevoir le sigle 4Q118 2. Pour s'en assurer, il faudrait des restes sur au moins deux lignes.

2 - Sur la planche PAM 43.677, le fragment 40 (5) porte des restes de quatre lettres de lecture assurée ]חזק את[, d'une main tout à fait comparable à celle de 4Q118 (Figure 3).



40  
0 1 cm

Comme cette séquence est attestée plusieurs fois en 2 *Chroniques* 24,5.12 et 34,8, il ne paraît pas impossible d'assigner aussi ce fragment sans joint direct à cette copie du manuscrit du livre des *Chroniques* concernant le règne de Josias qui succéda à Manassé en 2 *Ch* 33, (6) d'autant que ce manuscrit a des passages concernant le roi Manassé (voir la *Prière de Manassé*). Il pourrait alors recevoir le sigle 11Q118 3.

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(5) Voir DJD XXXIII, *op. cit.*, p. 114, où les auteurs lisent ]חזק את[ (?), en signalant que la séquence -חזק א- ne se trouve jamais dans la Bible et qu'elle n'est connue qu'une fois dans un texte non biblique (4Q502 1-2 2), et que ce fragment ne peut être attribué à ce manuscrit. En revanche, la séquence, «-רחזק א-» occurs four times in the Bible (e. g. 2 Kgs 19,25; Jer 51:50 [both -רחזק את-] and once in non-biblical Qumran texts (3Q15 II 8), making this a likely restoration.»

(6) Cette séquence n'est attestée ailleurs dans la Bible qu'en Jos 11,20, 2 R 12,9.13 ; 22,6 et Ne 6,9. Or ce fragment ne peut être identifié à un manuscrit de *Josué*, ou de 2 *Rois* ou de *Néhémie*.



# IDENTIFICATION D'UN FRAGMENT EN PALÉO-HÉBREU (4Q124) ET D'UN FRAGMENT EN ÉCRITURE CRYPTIQUE B (4Q362) DE LA PAM 43.697 <sup>(1)</sup>

**D**ANS la présente note, nous proposons l'identification des fragments 46 et 50 actuellement conservés sur la planche 94 et provenant de la grotte 4 de Qumrân. (2) Rassemblés sur la PAM 43.697 publiée dans DJD 33, ces deux fragments n'ont été ni transcrits ni identifiés à ce jour. (3)

## 1. Fragment 46

Après nettoyage du fragment, des photos couleur (4) et infrarouge (5) ont été réalisées dans le cadre du Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls

(1) Cette découverte a été réalisée dans le cadre du projet Scripta Qumranica Electronica, financé par la Deutsche Israelische Projektkooperation (DIP), subvention BE 5916/1-1. Nous remercions Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar de nous avoir informé de l'existence du fragment en paléo-hébreu qu'il a lui-même repéré. En inspectant cette planche, nous avons ensuite découvert le fragment en écriture cryptique. Tous nos remerciements à l'équipe de l'IAA, dirigée par Pnina Shor, pour leur travaux sur les manuscrits et la mise à disposition des photographies. Merci à Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, Jonathan Ben-Dov, ainsi qu'aux deux relecteurs anonymes pour leurs remarques sur cette note.

(2) Ces deux fragments apparaissent également sur la PAM 43.662 : le fragment en paléo-hébreu est le 64 et le fragment en écriture cryptique le 94. Ces fragments apparaissent sur deux planches, suite à la réorganisation des fragments opérée par l'équipe en charge de la publication.

(3) Dana M. Pike and Andrew Skinner, *Unidentified Fragments*, DJD 33 (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 2001), 269–273, Pl. XXXVI.

(4) <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-505773>

(5) <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-505775>

Digital Library des Autorités des Antiquités Israéliennes (IAA) par le photographe Shai Halevi en juin 2015. La photo infrarouge permet de lire 6 lettres en paléo-hébreu inscrites à l'encre noire sur un morceau de parchemin brun très foncé, de 2,4 cm de haut et 2,6 cm de large. (6)

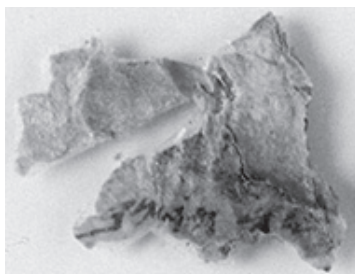


Figure 1. Fragment 46 de la PAM 43.697. Courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority.  
Photo: Najib Anton Albina

] marge supérieure [  
]וִי וְרֹב[

*Traduction* : « ses (...) et nombreux/abondant ».

Bien que cette séquence de lettres corresponde aux premiers mots de 2 Ch 24,27, il est très peu probable que l'on ait à faire à un nouveau manuscrit du livre des Chroniques en paléo-hébreu. Les manuscrits bibliques de Qumrân écrits en paléo-hébreu rassemblent exclusivement des livres de l'Hexateuque et de Job, livres réputés pour leur ancienneté au tournant de notre ère. Il serait très surprenant de voir le livre des Chroniques, réputé tardif, figurer dans cette liste. (7) Par ailleurs, plusieurs indices invitent à considérer ce morceau de parchemin comme un nouveau fragment de 4Q124 (4QpaleoUnid1). (8) Ce manuscrit de nature inconnue a récemment été étudié par Alexey Yuditsky et identifié comme une réécriture sapientiale du récit de Genèse 3. (9) Une édition complète de cette composition permettrait de définir la place qu'y occupe le fragment étudié ici.

(6) Ce fragment apparaît pour la première fois tout en bas de la PAM 40.979.

(7) Par ailleurs, l'association de cette séquence avec le *qere* de Job 33,19 וְרֹב est séduisante, mais le *yod* et le *waw* précédant ce terme la rendent impossible.

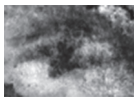

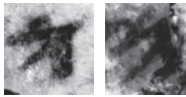
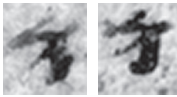
(8) Patrick W. Skehan, Eugene Ulrich and Judith E. Sanderson, « 124. 4QpaleoUnidentified(1) » in *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*, DJD 9 (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1992), 205–214, Pl. XXIV–XLV.

(9) Alexey Yuditsky, « 4Q124: A Sapiential Scroll Mentioning the Sin of Adam and his Punishment. A New Edition », *Lešonenu* 79 (2017) : 478–488 (en hébreu).

Voici les caractéristiques communes au fragment 46 et à 4Q124 :

1. Les éditeurs de 4Q124 remarquent que ce parchemin « présente la caractéristique inhabituelle de conserver encore une partie des poils de l'animal ». (10) Sur l'image couleur du fragment non-identifié on observe quelques poils tout en haut à droite du parchemin.
2. Notre fragment ne contient aucun séparateur entre les deux séquences de lettres mais laisse un espace comme c'est le cas sur quelques fragments de 4Q124. (11)
3. Dans les deux cas, on n'observe aucune réglure au-dessus de la ligne d'écriture.
4. Comme le montre le tableau paléographique ci-dessous, les lettres attestées dans le fragment 46 de la PAM 43.697 sont tout à fait comparables à celles de 4Q124. L'écriture pourrait aussi être assimilée à celle de 4Q101 mais plusieurs caractéristiques sont propres au scribe de 4Q124. Par exemple, s'il est parfois ardu de différencier un *dalet* d'un *resh* dans d'autres manuscrits, en 4Q124, la tête du *resh* se veut particulièrement petite et sa hampe relativement courte par rapport au *dalet*. (12) Le jambage du *beth* est légèrement concave à gauche, ce qui est une caractéristique propre à ce manuscrit. (13)

Tableau paléographique (14)

	Fragment 46 de la PAM 43.697	4Q124
yod		
waw		







(10) C'est le cas des fragments 4, 5, 6, 7 i-ii, 8, 12, 14, 17, 19, 27 et 28. Notre traduction de Skehan *et al.*, « 124. 4Qpaleo Unidentified(1) », 205.

(11) Voir les fragments 4, 6, 7, 18 et 20. Skehan *et al.*, « 124. 4Qpaleo Unidentified(1) », 205.

(12) Yuditsky, « 4Q124 », 486 ou <http://www.paleohebrewdss.com/database/letters-by-scroll/4q124/>

(13) Antony Perrot and Matthieu Richelle, « The Dead Sea Scrolls Paleo-Hebrew Script. Its Roots in Hebrew Scribal Tradition », in *Research Approaches in Hebrew Bible Manuscript Studies*, ed. Élodie Attia and Antony Perrot, THB Sup (Leiden : Brill, à paraître).

(14) Les images des lettres ont subi un traitement des contrastes avec le logiciel Photoshop ©.

	Fragment 46 de la PAM 43.697	4Q124	
<i>resh</i>			
<i>beth</i>			

Au final, au vu des nombreux points de comparaison, tant sur le plan matériel que paléographique, il y a de bonnes raisons de penser que le fragment 46 de la PAM 43.697 est le 37<sup>e</sup> fragment de 4Q124.

2. Fragment 50

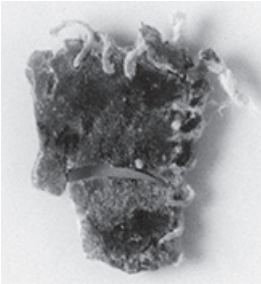


Figure 2. Fragment 50 de la PAM 43.697. Courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library, Israel Antiquities Authority.  
Photo: Najib Anton Albina

Le fragment 50 de la PAM 43.697 est un morceau de parchemin noirci qui mesure 2,2 cm de haut et 1,8 cm de large. Il apparaît également sur les PAM 41.637, 43.171 et 43.662. (15) Ce fragment

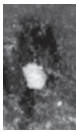
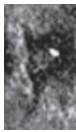

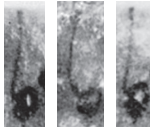
(15) Sur la PAM 41.637, le fragment ne contient pas encore la déchirure horizontale en son milieu. Un algorithme a permis de repérer ce fragment sur les différentes PAM. Il a été développé et utilisé par les informaticiens de l'Université de Tel Aviv dans le cadre du projet Scripta Qumranica Electronica, financé par la Deutsche Israelische Projektkooperation (subvention BE 5916/1-1). Pour plus de détails, voir Gil Levi, Pinhas Nisnevitch, Adiel Ben-Shalom, Nachum Dershowitz and Lior Wolf, « A Method for Segmentation, Matching and Alignment of the Dead Sea Scrolls », in *Proceedings of the IEEE Winter Conference on Applications of Computer Vision* (Lake Tahoe, CA, 2018), 208–217, disponible sur <https://www.computer.org/csdl/proceedings-article/wacv/2018/488601a208/12OmNAZOK2w> et Taivanbat Badamdorj, Adiel Ben-Shalom and Nachum Dershowitz, « Matching and Searching the Dead Sea Scrolls », *Proceedings of the 2018 IEEE International Conference on the Science of Electrical Engineering in Israel* (Eilat, 2019), disponible sur <https://ieeexplore.ieee.org/document/8646241>.

contient un fil de couture sur sa partie supérieure et à droite mais son usage n'est pas clair. (16)

Les éditeurs du DJD 33 soulignent « qu'il est difficile de voir des lettres sur ce fragment ». (17) L'image infrarouge réalisée par Shai Halevi (IAA) en 2015 permet, (18) quant à elle, d'identifier les signes comme des lettres en écriture cryptique B.

Cette écriture, non déchiffrée encore, n'est attestée que dans trois manuscrits : 4Q362 (4Q cryptB Unidentified Text A), 4Q363 (4Q cryptB Unidentified Text B) et 4Q363b (4Q crypt Miscellaneous Texts). (19) Certaines caractéristiques permettent de distinguer l'écriture de 4Q362 de celles de 4Q363/4Q363b, et ce, de deux manières. Premièrement, certaines lettres sont propres à 4Q362 et d'autres à 4Q363/4Q363b. Deuxièmement, la taille des lettres de 4Q363/4Q363b est généralement plus grande que celle de 4Q362. (20) Selon nous, l'écriture attestée sur le fragment non-identifié correspond en tout point à celle de 4Q362.

*Tableau paléographique (21)*

#	Fragment 50 de la PAM 43.697	4Q362
#1		
#2		

(16) Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden : Brill, 2004), 117.

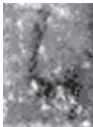

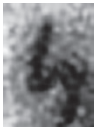
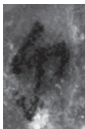

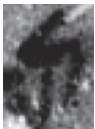
(17) « Frg 50 preserves stitching on the top and right sides of the leather. Since letters are close to the right stitching, it may all represent a repair. » Pike and Skinner, *Unidentified Fragments*, 17.

(18) <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-505778>

(19) Stephen J. Pfann, « 362. 4QcryptB Unidentified Text A », « 363. 4QcryptB Unidentified Text B », « 363b. 4Qcrypt Miscellaneous Texts », in *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh and Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII : Miscellanea, Part 2*, ed. Douglas M. Gropp, Moshe Bernstein, Monica Brady, James Charlesworth, Peter Flint, Haggai Misgav, Stephen Pfann, Eileen Schuller, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar and James C. Vanderkam, DJD 28 (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 2001), Pl. XLI–XLIII.

(20) Emanuel Tov, « Scribal Characteristics of the Qumran Scrolls », in *The Caves of Qumran. Proceedings of the International Conference, Lugano 2014*, ed. Marcello Fidanzio, STDJ 118 (Leiden : Brill, 2016), 89.

(21) Les images des lettres ont subi un traitement des contrastes avec le logiciel Photoshop ©.

#	Fragment 50 de la PAM 43.697	4Q362
#3		 
#4		 

### Note paléographique

Ce fragment est constitué d'une séquence de quatre signes clairement identifiables. (22) On peut discerner la présence d'une deuxième ligne en dessous de ces quatre signes, à l'extrémité de l'échancrure. Malheureusement, l'état du parchemin empêche l'identification de lettres supplémentaires.

(#1) La première lettre attestée dans notre fragment ressemble à un *qof*. Cette lettre est employée seulement une fois en 4Q362 et jamais en 4Q363/4Q363b.

(#2) Le deuxième signe est tout à fait singulier. Il pourrait éventuellement être rapproché d'un *lamed*. Il est constitué, de haut en bas : d'une longue haste généralement courbe et d'un demi-cercle auquel s'ajoute parfois un empâtement. Cette lettre n'est jamais attestée en 4Q363/4Q363b mais apparaît pas moins de 8 fois en 4Q362.

(#3) La forme du troisième signe correspond à un « Z » couché. Les traits verticaux ont tendance à être plus longs que le trait horizontal. Cette lettre est fréquemment employée en 4Q362 et 4Q363/4Q363b.

(#4) Le quatrième et dernier signe ressemble de près à un *tav* avec une tête très prononcée et dont le jambage de droite serait écourté et incurvé. Cette lettre apparaît aussi bien en 4Q362 qu'en 4Q363/4Q363b.

Ce manuscrit, dont seules des photographies ont été publiées par Stephen J. Pfann dans DJD 28, (23) se compose de 23 fragments. Si notre hypothèse est juste, le fragment non-identifié—50 de la PAM 43.697—constituerait le 24<sup>e</sup> fragment de 4Q362.

Antony PERROT,  
EPHE, PSL,  
Orient et Méditerranée (UMR 8167)

(22) On voit bien un cinquième signe au bord de l'échancrure mais il est incomplet.

(23) Stephen J. Pfann « 4Q cryptB Unidentified Text A », in *Wadi Daliyeh II*, Pl. XLI.

## IDENTIFICATIONS OF QUMRAN CAVE 4 FRAGMENTS ON PAM 43.691 \*

THE PAM photograph 43.691, taken in July 1960, was published as Pl. XXX in DJD XXXIII, the volume with Qumran Cave 4 Unidentified Fragments. (1) The photograph shows ninety-four fragments. The Museum inventory number of the plate with these fragments is #96. The original plate had in the upper right corner a label with the word “rephotoes” (sic). This apparently indicated that the plate contained fragments taken from other museum plates to be photographed again. Indeed, at least eighty-seven of the fragments of this plate have been transferred from other plates of unidentified fragments which are included in the same DJD volume. That is, virtually all PAM 43.691 fragments are also found on DJD XXXIII plates I-XXV. (2) Four of the photographed fragments (frags. 24, 51, 55, and 85) have been transferred in the 1960s, 70s, or 80s, to other plates. A 2015 photograph of the plate accessible through the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library shows the remaining ninety fragments, but because several

\* I have made use of some PAM images which were provided by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) to the ERC project of the European Research Council (EU Horizon 2020): The Hands that Wrote the Bible: Digital Palaeography and Scribal Culture of the Dead Sea Scrolls (HandsandBible #640497), principal investigator Mladen Popović. Publication of sections of these photographs are by courtesy of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library; Israel Antiquities Authority. Thanks are due to Maruf Dhali (Artificial Intelligence, University of Groningen) for assistance with the photographs; to Jean-Sébastien Rey for joining fragments with Photoshop; to Corrado Martone and Jean-Sébastien Rey for spotting errors in earlier versions. The author is also a research associate of the University of Pretoria.

(1) Dana M. Pike and Andrew C. Skinner, *Qumran Cave 4. XXIII: Unidentified Fragments*, DJD XXXIII (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).

(2) For a list, cf. my “Concordance of the Qumran Cave 4 ‘Unidentified fragments’ on PAM 43691 (IAA # 96).” <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.3228853>.



combinations of fragments are numbered as one fragment, the total number on the website amounts to eighty-seven fragments. (3)

Only fourteen of the ninety-four fragments on the 1960 photograph have been transcribed and briefly discussed in the DJD edition. The editors hesitantly identified two of those. They tentatively, and correctly, identified frag. 43 as a 4Q365 fragment containing Lev 25:33. The editors' other identification, namely of frag. 54 as deriving from 1-2 Samuel, is possible, but less certain. The hand of the fragment is reminiscent of that 4Q51, but the textual and paleographic evidence is limited, and the text may also be restored differently. (4) The editors could not provide information on the four missing fragments, three of which I could locate. (5) As a result, up to now, none of the fragments of PAM 43.691 has been formally identified in any of our tools. Stephen Reed's 1994 catalogue merely mentions "4Q Misc. frgs." (6) Emanuel Tov's 2009 revised lists do not include references to PAM 43.691, although he mentions the two tentative identifications made in DJD XXXIII. (7) The Leon Levy Digital Library simply qualifies all the "manuscripts in this image" as "4Q9999," its code for unidentified. The present contribution provides manuscript identifications for ten of those fragments, including seven new ones. (8)

Frag. 11 4Q366 (4QRP<sup>d</sup>) 1 12-13 (Exod 22:5-6) [cf. also PAM 43.674 frag. 4]; see Fig. 1 (9)

11 [כי תצא אש ומצאה קצים ונאכל גדיש או הקמה או ה]שֹׁדֶה שלם [ישלם]  
12 [המבער את הבערה כי יתן איש אל רעהו כסף או כִּלְיִם לשׁ]מר וגנב

(3) <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-508200>.

(4) For example שֶׁאֵת [ה]הנה as in the skin disease prescriptions in Lev 13:10, 43, but there is no clear paleographical correspondence with any of the Cave 4 Leviticus or Reworked Pentateuch manuscripts.

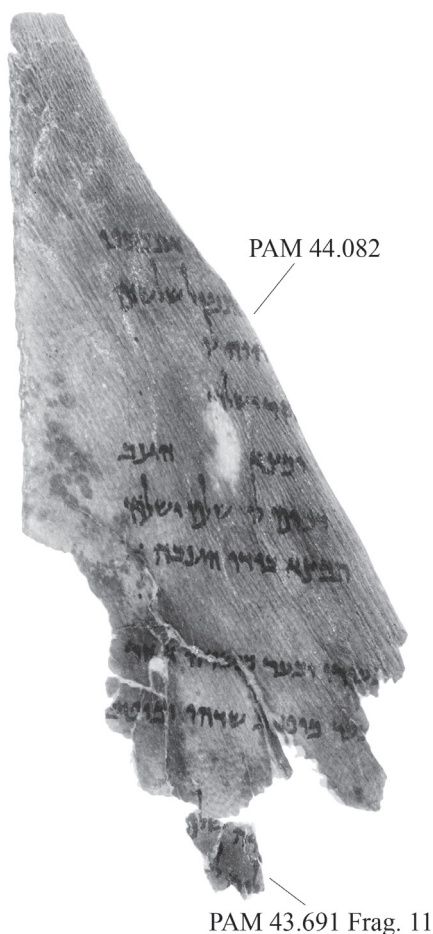
(5) For frags. 24 and 55 see below. Frag. 51 was transferred to a plate which was photographed on PAM 44.198, but none of our tools indicates with which Museum inventory this photograph should be associated.

(6) Stephen Reed, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs and Museum Inventory Numbers*, rev and ed. by Marilyn J. Lundberg (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 388. See also p. 476: "4QUnid. frgs."

(7) Emanuel Tov, *Revised Lists of the Texts From the Judaean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 111 n. 2.

(8) The quality of plate XXX in DJD XXXIII is very mediocre. For this article I could use a high-definition electronic image of PAM 43.691.

(9) Join with 4Q366 1 taken from PAM 44.082 (<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-285093>).



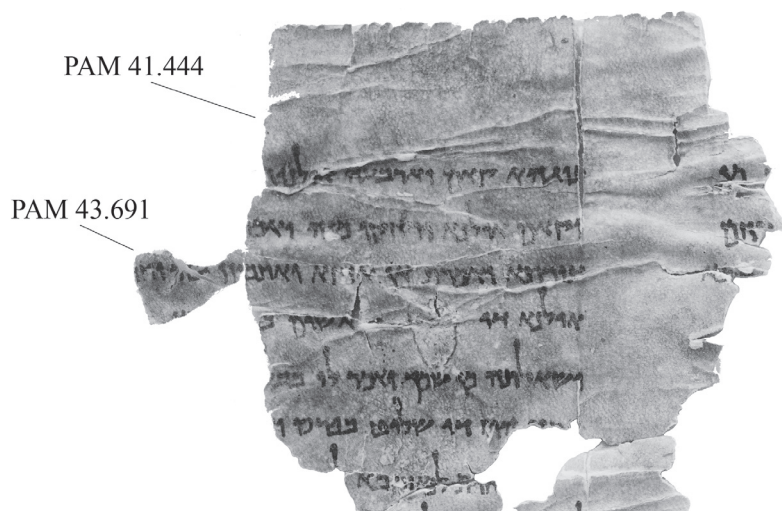
The editors already commented that one could read **הש[ו]ה שלם** in line 1, as in Exod 22:5. I identified the text of the entire fragment as Exod 22:5-6, but incorrectly assigned the fragment to 4Q365. (10) In truth, materially the fragment joins perfectly to the bottom of 4Q366 1, and all the letters of this fragment match with those of 4Q366. (11)

(10) Eibert Tigchelaar, “Gleanings from the Plates of Unidentified Fragments: Two PAM 43.674 Identifications (4Q365 and 4Q416),” in *‘Go Out and Study the Land’ (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel*, ed. Aren Maeir, Jodi Magness, and Lawrence H. Schiffman, JSJSup 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 317-322 at 318-319.

(11) See DJD XIII, 338 and Pl. XXXV.

Frag. 14 4Q552 (4QFour Kingdoms<sup>a</sup> ar) 1 ii 3-4 [cf. also PAM 43.684 frag. 82]; see Fig. 2 (12)

1 [ונן בה וחזן]  
2 ] אֵא[



The basestroke of the prefinal nun is not visible in the photograph PAM 43.691, but seems clear in PAM 43.684. (13) The sequence of letters of line 1 is only attested in 4Q553 3+2 ii+4 3-4, and reconstructed in 4Q552 1 ii 3. The hand and physical appearance correspond to that of 4Q552. If one removes the tiny fragment placed by (presumably) Jean Starcky at the left end of line 3, (14) then PAM 43.691 14 can be placed to the left of 4Q552 1 ii 3-4, fitting the reconstruction of line 3 already proposed by Émile Puech. (15) In the second line this is more problematic. The *alef* in line 2 seems one letter too far towards the left to correspond with a reading בַּמְּ[דִּנְ]אָא which would fit Puech's reconstruction. One would therefore have to assume a considerably more spacious writing of the letters, a scribal error, or a different text. Alternatively, given that the phrase וְאִתְּכֻּנָּה בַּהּ וְחִיָּיתָ may have

(12) Join with a section of 4Q552 1 ii taken from PAM 41.444 (<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-298868>).

(13) In some hands the prefinal *nun* in final *ן* also has the length of final *nun*, with or without a stroke towards the left at the bottom. Compare, e.g., 4Q287 2 4.

(14) The fragment was first associated with 4Q552 on PAM 43.576.

(15) Émile Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4.XXVII: Textes araméens deuxième partie*, DJD XXXVII (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), 64 and Pl. III.

been used repeatedly in the text, the fragment might derive from another place in the manuscript. The following placement in 4Q552 1 ii 3-4 is therefore tentative:

צורתא ואמרת אן אחזא ואתבונן בה וחז[ית] 3  
אילנא די [קאם] הוּא שים במ[דנ]הּא [לה] 4

Assuming this placement, the large space in between במדנחא and reconstructed לה is an idiosyncrasy of the scribe who tries to create a flush left margin by adding additional space before the last word. See, e.g., 4Q552 1 i 6-8.

Frag. 15 4Q270 (4QD<sup>e</sup>) 7 ii 10-12 [cf. also PAM 43.674 frag. 3]; see Fig. 3

]פּוּ[ 1  
[המחנות יקהלו] 2  
ושמ[אול מן הת]ורה 3



The reading of lines 2-3 and the script of the fragment indicate the fragment should be added to 4Q270 frag. 7 and placed in col. ii lines 10-12. The problem is the reading of line 1. If the traces before the probable *pe* in line 1 might be read as *shin* (but then the form of this *shin* is different from those attested elsewhere in the fragments of the manuscript), then read מ[שפּט]ן. With this fragment the lines of 4Q270 7 ii 10-12 can be read as follows:

[ ] va[cat] 10 [כחרת ושלמים שפּטן] 10  
[וכל ישיבי] המחנות י[קהלו ב]חדש השלישי ואר[רו את הנוטה] 11  
[ימץ ושמ]אול מן הת[ורה] vacat [זה פרוש המשפטים אש]ר] 12

Frag. 24 4Q424 (4QInstruction-like Composition) 3 7-10

After having been photographed on PAM 43.691 the fragment was subsequently identified—probably by John Strugnell—as belonging to 4Q424 3, transferred to Museum Plate 123, and photographed on PAM 44.197. (16)

(16) Cf. the image of PAM 44.197 in DJD XXXVI, Pl. XXIII.

Frag. 43 4Q365 (4QRP<sup>c</sup>) (Lev 25:33)

The identification which was tentatively suggested in DJD XXXIII should be accepted.

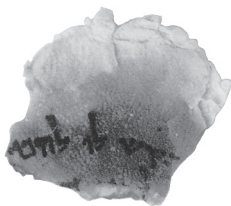
Frag. 54 4Q51 (4QSam<sup>a</sup>) ?

][ ]u[	1
]הנה שא]	2

The editors comment that the phrase <sup>ל</sup>והנה שאל occurs in 1 Sam 11:15, 26:7, and 2 Sam 1:6. The hand is indeed quite similar to that of 4Q51, but the evidence is very limited and some details of the letters (for example the crossbar of *he*) may be slightly different.

Frag. 55 4Q57 (4QIsa<sup>c</sup>) Isa 40:20-21 [cf. also PAM 43.668 frag. 83]; see Fig. 4

<i>top margin</i>	
י]בקש לו להכין]	1
]לוֹאָ הֵ	2



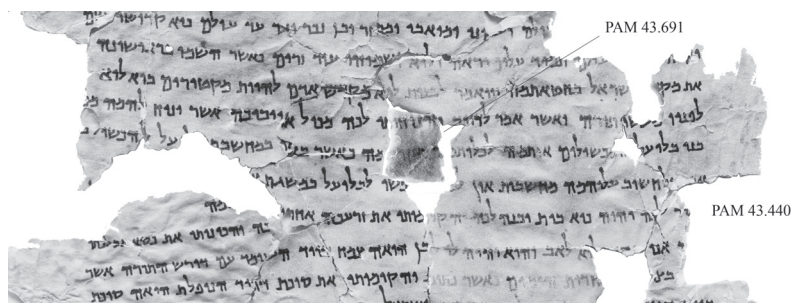
The fragment has been transferred to Museum Plate 264, the most right fragment of the bottom row on the plate (hitherto without a new IAA number). (17) The letters match samples of 4Q57, including, e.g., the tick at the top left of the downstroke of *shin*, though the preserved *shins* in 4Q57 only rarely lean so much leftwards (almost similar is the *shin* in <sup>ל</sup>באש in frag. 45). The traces of the second line are badly legible, and from the available photograph it is not even clear whether the upper arm of *lamed* in לוֹאָ[הֵ is ink, but if it is, the space seems quite large for לוֹאָ. This fragment is the only one of 4Q57 that preserves the upper margin.

(17) <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-496219>.

Frag. 56 4Q174 (4QFlor.) 1-2 i 7-8 [cf. also PAM 43.677 frag. 7]; see Fig. 5 (18)

1 [והגיות] ]

2 [ה מקרב] ]



The fragment fits in the “hole” in 4Q174 1-2 i 7-8, with its left and bottom left edges joining to the left edges of the hole. Inserted in 4Q174 1-2 i 7-8 this would result in

7 לפני מעשי תורה ואשר אמר לדוד והגיותי לכה מכל ארביכה אשר יצח להמה מכ[ול]

8 בני בלעל המכשלים אותמה ללותמה מקרבמה כאשר באו במחשבת[ב]ל[י] על להכשל ב[נ]

The new reading in line 8, מקרבמה, “from their midst,” differs from previous reconstructions of the lacuna. (19)

Frag. 57-58 4Q219 (4QJub<sup>d</sup>) col. II 29-32 [cf. also PAM 43.677 frag. 24]; see Fig. 6 (20)

1 ]○[

2 ]○ מטעת א[

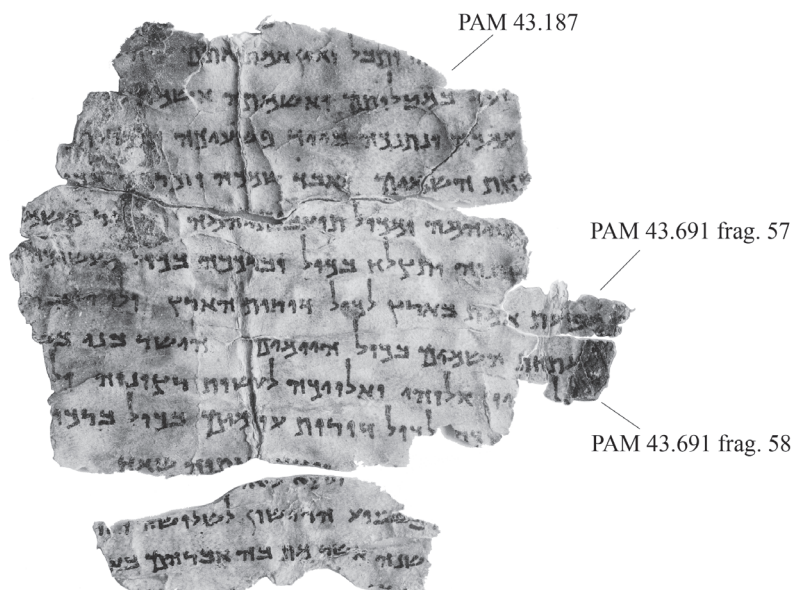
3 ]מתחת[

4 ]אל [ל

(18) Join with the middle section of 4Q174 1-2 taken from PAM 43.440 (<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284474>).

(19) For example, George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (Atlanta: SBL, 2006; orig. Sheffield: JSOT, 1985), 87, 92, reading במשנת[מה, “through their errors,” with discussion of earlier proposals on p. 108-109; Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2000), 352-53 מה[בעו]מה, “on account of their sins”; Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2013), 289 reads באש[מה, without explaining its syntactical relation (whose “guilt”?). For the edition of 4Q174 1-2 i, cf. DJD V, Pl. XIX.

(20) Join with 4Q219 frag. 9 taken from PAM 43.187 (<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284634>).



Fragments 57 and 58 should be joined together, and they form a perfect join with the right edge of 4Q219 frag. 9a (col. II lines 30-31). The right part of frag. 58 has lost its surface. (21) The text of 4Q219 II 29-32 can now be read as follows:

29	עליון] [רצונה ותצלח בכול וברככה בכול מעשיכה °]
30	° מטעת אמת בארץ לכול דורות הארץ vac ולו ישיבת]
31	] מתחת השמים בכול הימים vac הישר בני בשל°]
32	] אל [ע]ליון אלוהי ואלויכה לעשות רצונות vac ול]

Frag. 57 shows that the manuscript read **מטעת אמת**, instead of **מטעת האמת** as restored by the editors. (22)

More fragments photographed on PAM 43.691 may be (tentatively) identified on the basis of physical appearance or on the basis of the script.

Eibert TIGCHELAAR  
KU Leuven

(21) This is clear from the image <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-504666>.

(22) DJD XII, 47 and Pl. IV.



## RECENSIONS

Reinhard G. Kratz, Annette Steudel, Ingo Kottsieper (Hrsg.), *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Wörterbuch zu den Texten vom Toten Meer: Einschliesslich der Manuskripte aus der Kairoer Geniza*, Band 1: א-ס (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017). Pp. 365. ISBN 978-3-11-044128-4. \$114.99.

The present work (abbreviated *HAWTTM*) represents a huge leap forward in the lexical study of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Previous to this, no single reference work has focused exclusively on the entire vocabulary of the scrolls. Although the *Theologische Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten* (ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry and Ulrich Dahmen; 3 vols. [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011–16]) does cover many of the same words, it ignores many others, not least of which are the prepositions and other particles. And, although the *Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* [= *DCH*] (ed. David J. A. Clines; 9 vols. [Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 1993–2016]) also includes all the words found in the scrolls and Ben Sira, that resource is now out-dated. And, only the first volume of its revised edition has appeared so far (ed. David J. A. Clines and David M. Stec; revised ed. [Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2018–]). Even then, it does not present the kinds of details found in *HAWTTM*. The volume under review will, therefore, be an extremely helpful resource for those anywhere wishing to make sense of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The dictionary's goal, of course, is to explain the lexicon of the non-biblical scrolls. Nevertheless, it also includes the words from the biblical scrolls (meaning the scrolls that contain predominantly the texts that would eventually become the Tanakh). Furthermore, the lexicon includes the words found in the texts from the Bar Kochba era (from caves like those at Wadi Murabba'at and Nahel Hever) as well as the words found in the medieval copies of Ben Sira, the Damascus Document, and Aramaic Levi. Although many of the words from these later sources (especially Ben Sira) are no doubt from later time periods, their inclusion in the lexicon will make the job of reading and understanding these texts that much easier.

Each entry consists of a lemma; a grammatical identification (e.g., n.m. = masculine noun); etymological information, including data from different pronunciation traditions, including the Tiberian, Samaritan, as well as that reflected in Greek transliteration; different morphological realizations of the word; glosses;

and finally (where relevant) a list of derivative words. Throughout these different sections uncertain readings and contexts as well as alternative explanations are offered.

In general, it is my impression that the lexicon under review differs from *DCH* (its main competitor) in two major ways. First, it includes etymological and comparative data that *DCH* does not. Second, the very experience of reading the lexicons differs. Reading *DCH* one can sometimes feel like one is sifting through raw data. In reading *HAWTTM*, on the other hand, one feels like only the significant details and information have been presented. Unlike *DCH*, for instance, *HAWTTM* does not attempt to be comprehensive in listing all the verbs that a given noun occurs with (and then disambiguating for which verbs it functions as grammatical subject and for which it functions as object). *HAWTTM* also does not contain some of the statistics found, for example, at the beginning of the volumes of *DCH* on the number of words in the lexicon, their occurrences, and distribution. To be clear, there are advantages to both presentations, but that of *HAWTTM* seems at times less daunting to consult, though perhaps more contentious in certain ways.

The lack of comprehensiveness together with the more narrowly defined corpus, allows *HAWTTM* to provide at times helpful observations on individual passages that are not included in *DCH* or are otherwise hard to find among all the data there. *HAWTTM*, for example, clearly notes (sub I אב [A I,3]) that the citation of Num 30:17 in CD VII, 8–9 (= CD XIX, 5), בן אב לבנו “between a father and his son,” differs from the text as found in the MT, which reads בן אב לבתו “between a father and his daughter.”

Often the lexicon remarks on impossible or highly unlikely readings. For example, the entry for ארעיבות states simply that the reading is impossible. The entry for אסחה in Sir 14:18 (Ms A margin) notes that it is struck out and that its meaning is unclear. With regard this last reading, J.-S. Rey (“Sagesses hébraïques de l’époque hellénistique: Éditions, traductions, commentaires, perspectives historiques et linguistiques; Tome 2: Le manuscrit A de Ben Sira, Édition critique, traduction et notes paléographiques et philologiques” [unpublished habilitation thesis; Strasbourg: Université de Strasbourg, 2012], 125) has proposed possibly reading instead ארהות “paths of.”

As just mentioned, the lexicon’s entries, glosses, etc. all reflect countless judgments and decisions on the part of the authors. It will be no surprise if individual readers will quibble with some of these. Here are some observations and criticisms on individual points.

אנף – The fact that Aramaic attests a word אנף “wing” that seems to bear a prothetic *aleph* seems worthy of mention in the etymological notes.

אדם – The reading עדם for a possible אדם “person” at Sir 41:18a-b (Mas) should be listed at least as a possibility. See Eric D. Reymond, “New Readings in the Ben Sira Masada Scroll (Mas 1h).” *RdQ* 26/103 (2014): 327–343 (spec. 333).

מאריה – Another example is possibly to be found in Sir 4:14 (Ms A): מאריה “one who desires her.” See Eric D. Reymond, “Gibberish?: Sir 4:14 in Ms A (T-S 12.863) Verso, Line 4.” In *Figures Who Shape Scriptures, Scriptures Who Shape Figures: Essays in Honour of Benjamin G. Wright III*. Edited by Géza

G. Xeravits and Greg Schmidt Goering. DCLS 40. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018, 164–77; and A. M. Habermann, “עיונים בבן ספר,” in: *Sefer Segal: Studies in the Bible, Presented to Professor M. H. Segal by His Colleagues and Students* (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1964), 296–299 (spec. 297). Note that the lexicon adopts the interpretation of the preceding letters, ואלהו, as “and God,” listed under אלוה.

אין – In the quotation of Sir 41:2 (Mas), the reading of עצמה is highly unlikely and it is better to read עצבה and assume either a mistake for עצמה “strength” or perhaps a word עצבה “health” derived from an otherwise unattested root עצב II (byform of עוב II “to restore”). See Raymond, “New Readings in . . . Masada,” 332.

איץ – The suffix conjugation form אצוה from 4Q70 at Jer 17:16 presupposes a geminate root אצץ. See Elisha Qimron, *A Grammar of the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls; Between Bible and Mishnah* (Jerusalem: Yad Yizhak Ben Zvi, 2018), 355–56.

אל I (II 4) – the first examples contains a repetition: אוננו אוננו should be אוננו.

אם I or II – The letters אם appear for עם “with” in Sir 44:11 (Mas) and there should be some cross reference regarding this misspelling.

אנה – There is no cross-reference regarding the apparent spelling of הנה “lo, behold” with an initial *aleph*, אנה (such that it looks like the Aramaic 1cs pronoun “I”) which appears in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> at Isa 8:18. This reference might also be included in the entry אנה.

ב – The citation אבית would have benefited from some parenthetical explanation, noting the prothetic *aleph* before the presumed consonant cluster -bb- and also giving a reference where this is discussed.

בין III – The noun also occurs in 4Q114 at Dan 11:17 where the MT has פניו “his face.”

בערה – The word also occurs in Sir 25:22 (Ms C 7v, 4), parallel to Greek ὀργή “wrath.” The word is often misread as בעדה, though the third letter is easily interpreted as a *resh*.

Eric D. REYMOND

Pancratius C. Beentjes, “*With All Your Soul Fear the Lord*” (*Sir. 7:27*): *Collected Essays on the Book of Ben Sira II* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology 87; Leuven: Peeters, 2017), pp. xviii + 332. € 72. ISBN 978-90-429-3477-1.

As the title suggests, this volume is comprised of previously published essays pertaining to various aspects of research of the book of Sirach. Of the 19 studies provided here, 7 are focused upon specific passages within the book (part I), while the remainder deal with a variety of thematic and methodological concerns, including comparisons with scriptural books and works of Second Temple literature (parts II–III).

The volume opens with an introductory essay treating two topics that have commanded much scholarly attention since the mid 1960's: first, the question of whether or not Ben Sira was a priest; and second, the relationship between Lady Wisdom and the Torah in the book of Sirach. In his presentation of these topics, the author summarizes the main interpretive issues as well as the partial consensus that has arisen with regard to each. Although there is not much new that is presented in this essay, the beginning researcher will find it quite useful for identifying several important scholarly works regarding these two topics. Presumably, the author has selected this essay as an introduction because of its initial observation that the discovery of the Hebrew fragments of the Masada Scroll of Sirach as well as the publication of the Great Psalms Scroll (11Q5), which contains parts of the Hebrew of Sir 51:13-30, occasioned a major shift in the study of Sirach that has resulted in a deeper understanding of the theological content of the book (p. 4).

Despite its fine summary of the history of research, chapter one is not especially well-suited to serve as an introduction since its focus is much too narrow and it does not provide any orientation to the studies that follow. The volume could have been strengthened by including an introduction composed specifically for this collection. Such an introduction would have been quite helpful since there are a few methodological and terminological questions that arise in these essays. For example, in dealing with matters of intertextuality (e.g., chapters 9 and 11) the author uses the term "parallel" quite often, but it is not entirely clear what he means by it in every case. In some instances, the author seems to use it as a synonym for a citation of another work by Ben Sira, while at other times it seems to refer to a more general kind of allusion. Similarly, the author refers to the "structural use of scripture" in several places, and although he does refer to the work of D. Patte (*Early Jewish Hermeneutic*, 1975), the concept could be more fully elaborated for the benefit of the reader, and an ideal place to do this would be the introduction. Finally, it would have been useful for the reader if the author had explained at the outset of the volume his understanding of the shape of the Hebrew Scriptures to which Ben Sira had access. While one can surmise from reading these essays that the author views Ben Sira as having had copies of the Torah, the books of the Former Prophets, Chronicles, Malachi, and Nehemiah that were relatively close to that which is found in the MT (cf. pp. 82-83 and 93-94), a brief statement about the subject (including a summary of opposing points of view) in an introductory chapter would be quite helpful for the reader.

One further critique that should be mentioned is the lack of copyediting and proofreading in this volume. There are frequent typos and grammatical mistakes that are distracting and can, at times, impede the reader's ability to understand the author's point.

These small issues of methodology and editing notwithstanding, the reader will find many of the studies in this volume to be useful for researching specific passages that are treated within. Perhaps the most useful contributions of this collection are the text critical insights that it contains. The author's careful eye as well as his sound and sober analysis provide a valuable perspective to

anyone working with the Hebrew manuscripts. Further, his correlation of the Hebrew to the Greek and Syriac versions is insightful and reflects the many years he has worked with these texts. In this regard, chapter 16 is especially worthy of note; the author's articulation of some of the principles pertaining to reconstructions of the Hebrew text as well as retroversions from the Greek and Syriac are exceedingly helpful.

In addition to the many good textual notes about particular verses, several of the studies (e.g., chapters 5 and 10) offer exegetical analysis that is quite perceptive. One particularly noteworthy example can be found in his interpretation of Sir. 45:25 (pp. 138-41 and also 179-83). Here he proposes reading 45:25ab as a subordinate clause to 45:25c, and concludes that "in Ben Sira's view, God's covenant with David has been *transferred* to the Aaronite Dynasty" (pp. 140-41 and also p. 182).

Another essay from this volume that deserves mention is chapter 11, which offers a systematic analysis of previously proposed parallels between Ben Sira and the Song of Songs. This exemplary study illustrates the author's careful approach to evaluating such potential parallels: he not only analyzes common vocabulary but also takes the context and content into account.

Overall, this collection of essays is a fine volume that has something to offer both those who are just beginning to study the book of Sirach and those who are already well acquainted with it.

A. Jordan SCHMIDT

Torleif Elgvin, *The Literary Growth of the Song of Songs during the Hasmonean and Early-Herodian Periods* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology 89; Leuven a.o.: Peeters, 2018), pp. xiv + 237. € 72.00. ISBN 978-90-429-3527-3.

Elgvin's monograph is partly a re-edition of the four Song of Songs manuscripts from Qumran, 4Q106-08 (4QCant<sup>a-c</sup>) and 6Q6 (6QCant), building upon previous work by Baillet a.o., Tov and Puech, partly a study of the possible conclusions to be drawn from these manuscripts regarding the development of the text of Song of Songs.

The edition part is a thorough and painstakingly detailed study of the manuscripts. Elgvin has worked with better photographs than the ones previously available, and in addition has performed studies of the physical fragments under a microscope. This evidently lends weight to his presentation, and it is a healthy reminder that work on the manuscripts themselves is not over, just because a printed edition is available. A thorough evaluation of his decisions over against previous editions of the same manuscripts will of course take more than simply reading them alongside each other. But Elgvin's edition will certainly be an inevitable part of the basis for future work on these scrolls.

While the preserved parts of 6QCant have a text relatively close to the MT of 1:1-8, but are too scarce to say anything of what the entire scroll comprised,

4QCant<sup>a,b</sup> both have shorter versions. Most conspicuously, in 4QCant<sup>a</sup> 2 ii, Tov, Puech and Elgvin unanimously conclude that the text jumps directly from 4:7 to 6:11.

Previous scholarship has been divided as to whether this makes the Cave 4 texts abbreviated versions of an existing MT-like recension, or whether, conversely, they represent earlier stages in a process of ‘literary growth’ of which MT is the end result. Elgvin comes down firmly on the latter side of the question: In his view, Song of Songs does not achieve the shape known to us from MT before some time close to the turn of the era, and since a complete copy is not extant prior to the Aleppo and Leningrad codices, we cannot even know for sure exactly what the Song of Songs text discussed by the Tannaim and quoted e.g. in the New Testament comprised.

In favour, not only of a late final redaction, but a general lateness of Song of Songs, the linguistic evidence of the text as well as its cultural background are adduced. Both the language of the book, its use of geographical terms, and its outspokenness—and seemingly ‘liberal’ attitude—towards sexuality, all fit better in the political, cultural and religious context of the Hasmonean period than in the Persian or Hellenistic periods. To my mind, this is the least convincing part of the monograph. Can we really presume to date poetry on the basis of establishing when Jerusalem would have been most likely to actually have a city guard (p. 105)? And must we presuppose that the relations between the protagonists of the songs tell us anything about the behaviour that the Jerusalem *bourgeoisie* would have found appropriate for their unmarried daughters?

It seems more plausible when Elgvin goes on to trace the ascription of the love songs to Solomon and adds that, in addition to lending them an authority that would later facilitate their inclusion in the canon, this also conveniently places them in a distant, exotic past, thus rendering less relevant the question of the poems’ accordance with contemporary sexual *mores*.

It is generally assumed that what made the book palatable to those deciding to include it in the canon was the widespread application of an allegorical (or, as Elgvin prefers, ‘metaphorical’) reading strategy to the book. In Elgvin’s view, however, one should differentiate between a metaphorical reading, which regards the metaphor as simply a vehicle for expressing something else, and a symbolic reading, in which an extra level of meaning is *added* to the literal sense. (This is of course wildly inadequate as a description of present day metaphor theory, but that is beside the point). A symbolic layer of meaning, referring to cult, temple, and God’s love of his people, is in Elgvin’s estimation already present *alongside* the literal sense of human lovemaking in the text that emerges at the hands of the Hasmonean period editors. And this again reduces the time that must be assumed between the finished text and the time when it attained canonical status.

In the ‘minor quibbles’ department: It would not have hurt to have had somebody check the volume more thoroughly for minor errors, oddities and inconsistencies. On the first page, reference is made to previous editions by Emanuel Tov in “(Tov 1996, 2000)”. The bibliography, however, contains neither Tov 1996 nor Tov 2000. The latter, evidently, is Tov’s editions in *DJD* 16, which appear nowhere in the bibliography (the *DJD* series as such is listed under

“D”), and the former presumably refers to Tov’s 1995 article in *JJS*, ‘Three Manuscripts (Abbreviated Texts?) of Canticles from Cave 4’, to which the volume elsewhere refers as “Tov 1995” (p. 93), while the bibliography lists it as “Tov 1995b”.

A few curious details may stem from the fact that the author (like the present reviewer) is not a native English speaker: Elgvin refers to the images or observations made by means of his digital microscope as “captions”, which none of the English dictionaries available to me have been able to make any sense of. And on p. 18, מִטְּחוֹ שֶׁל־שְׁלֹמֹה is rendered “Solomon’s own coach!”, which is hardly the intended sense, neither of the ancient scribe nor of his 21<sup>st</sup> century Norwegian colleague.

Such nitpicking aside, the volume is certainly an important and worthwhile contribution to the study of the Qumran Song of Songs manuscripts, as well as the discussion of how the book came about in the first place, achieved its canonical form and was eventually included in the canon.

Søren HOLST

Géza G. Xeravits and Greg Schmidt Goering (eds.), *Figures Who Shape Scriptures, Scriptures that Shape Figures: Essays in Honor of Benjamin G. Wright III* (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Series 40; Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), pp. xxvi + 241. € 86.95 / US\$ 99.99. ISBN 978-3-11-059637-3.

This volume consists of fourteen studies presented in honor of Benjamin G. Wright III on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday. The essays in this volume are organized into two groups: those focusing on the depiction of individual figures found within scriptures and those treating thematic and sociological issues related to scriptural traditions. As is perhaps to be expected, these contributions are somewhat eclectic in scope. Two of these essays are focused primarily on Qumranic texts, while another six treat works of Second Temple literature.

The studies presented by Emmanuel Tov (“Moses in the Septuagint”) and Kristin de Troyer (“Adding Profile to Moses and Joshua: The First Revision of the Book of Joshua”) focus on the translation technique of the Greek Old Testament reflected in passages dealing with Moses and Joshua, respectively. Both essays present sound analysis of the relationship between the Hebrew of the MT and the Greek of the Septuagint.

Jeremy Corley (“No Small Difference When Introducing Samuel in Sirach 46:13”) considers several details in the depiction of Samuel in the Hebrew text (MsB) of Sir 46:13 and compares these with the Greek and Syriac versions as well as the depictions of Samuel found in the versions of 1 Samuel (MT, 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, and LXX), the writings of Philo, and the New Testament. In these comparisons, he provides detailed textual notes and several insightful hypotheses regarding the relationship between textual versions as well as the trajectory of reception history.



The studies by József Zsengellér (“David in the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*: Reshaping the Contemporary Cultural Memory”) and Géza G. Xeravits (“The Reception of the Figure of David in Late Antique Synagogue Art”) examine the cultural reception of the figure of David in ancient Judaism. Whereas Zsengellér analyzes an example of literary reception of David in the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, Xeravits considers David’s reception in the synagogal art of Meroth (Safed), Gaza, and Dura. Both offer cogent accounts of the manner in which the figure of David was used to strengthen the social identity of Jews living in Late Antiquity and to influence their behavior.

The first contribution to this volume to treat a Qumranic text directly is Matthew Goff’s (“A New Suggestion Concerning the Enigmatic Elioud of the *Book of Watchers*”) analysis of the enigmatic term “Elioud” from *1 En.* 7:2. He suggests that it is a reformulated semitic term—possibly a combination of אֱל and a form of לִד—denoting some type of antediluvian giants that were thought to be the early ancestors of the Canaanites. Though the precise underlying form of the term is opaque, Goff contends that its meaning can be better understood by examining its literary function. To do this he engages in a comparative analysis of the descriptions of the antediluvian giants found in the *Book of the Watchers* and *Animal Apocalypse*. Goff notes that a threefold characterization of the giants is found in both works, and that the giants are the only group to receive such a classification in the *Apocalypse* (elephants, camels, and wild asses; cf. *1 En.* 86:4; 88:2). Based on the phonetic similitude between the terms in each sequence, Goff further concludes that the Aramaic עֲרָד (“onager”) from the *Apocalypse* can be understood as a reformulation of some form of the Greek Ἐλιουδ from the *Watchers*. Finally, Goff analyzes the function of the עֲרָד in the *Apocalypse*, noting that it is the only animal that is found in the ante- and postdiluvian periods (cf. the reference to Ishmael in 89:10-11). As Goff explains, this is a means by which the author creates a link between the antediluvian giants and the early inhabitants of the land of Canaan. Goff deftly combines this etymological and comparative literary analysis to propose that the meaning of the term “Elioud” likely denotes a group who are descendants of the watchers and are also the forefathers of the early inhabitants of Canaan.

Greg Schmidt Goering’s (“Simon and the Actualization of Wisdom in the Jerusalem Temple”) analysis of the connection between wisdom and the cultus in Sirach provides a good summary of the state of the question regarding Ben Sira’s attitude toward cultic worship that incorporates much of the research from the past twenty years. He convincingly demonstrates that 7:29-31 and 34:21-35:13 are statements about the genuine importance of the cult; specifically, he argues that for Ben Sira the fear of the Lord—the first stage of wisdom—has a cultic dimension because cultic worship is directed by the Torah. Further, Goering expands upon the oft-noted parallels between Lady Wisdom and Simon (chs. 24 and 50) by examining the connection between the cultus and creation that is present in the descriptions of both figures.

Samuel L. Adams (“The Book of Ruth as Social Commentary in Early Judaism”) reads the book of Ruth as a social commentary that criticizes the overly rigid application of laws in the post-exilic period. He observes that post-exilic works often explore the status of foreigners and their attitudes toward

Judeans, which are both major themes in Ruth, and he suggests that this is a good reason to consider Ruth in the post-exilic milieu. Further, Adams characterizes Ruth and Ezra-Nehemiah as having competing visions regarding issues like acceptable marriage practices and rights of inheritance, and argues that these commonalities point to roughly contemporaneous periods of composition. Whether or not one finds his argument convincing depends in large measure upon how compelling one finds these thematic similarities between Ruth and post-exilic works, such as Ezra-Nehemiah.

Ibolya Balla ("Glimpses into Ben Sira's Society with a View to the Connections between Ben Sira and Amos") compares two sets of passages in Ben Sira and Amos (Sir 13:15-23 and Amos 5:10-13; Sir 27:16-21 and Amos 3:3-8) in order to understand better their views on society. This comparison yields a modest conclusion: these works use somewhat similar vocabulary and imagery to denounce various societal ills and the failure to observe the Mosaic Law.

The second study that analyzes a Qumranic text directly is Bradley C. Gregory's ("Exemplars of Humility and the Discourse of Authority in Second Temple Judaism: A Comparison of Sirach and the *Community Rule*") comparison of the manner in which humility is used to undergird authority in the book of Sirach and the *Community Rule*. He first examines the way that Ben Sira employs the categories of humility and pride with regard to both the observance of the commandments (10:19-11:6) and the acquisition of knowledge (3:17-29). Ben Sira insists that his students accept the boundaries of legitimate human knowledge as an expression of their humility, and this, as Gregory observes, is a means by which the sage implicitly claims to have the authority to identify those boundaries and also to interpret tradition. Gregory then considers the *Community Rule*'s presentation of humility as a matter of accepting the authoritative judgments of the "sons of Zadok," particularly in the context of the annual review of the community's members. He concludes that although the precise content of humility is to some degree self-referential in both works, each conveys a sense that humility is a matter of both knowing one's divinely sanctioned place in the world and cultivating those virtues necessary to act in accord with it.

Eric D. Raymond ("Gibberish? Sir 4:14 in Ms A I (T-S 12.863) Verso, Line 4") reexamines Sir 4:14b as it is found in MsA (T-S 12.863, *Verso*, line 4) and offers a new proposal for reading this colon. The line, which is typically transcribed ואלהו במא ויהא, is usually described as senseless, corrupt, and untranslatable. In response to such claims, Raymond draws on his extensive knowledge of the Genizah manuscripts to suggest the line can be read as ואלהו במא ויהא ("and God is with those who desire her"), which makes good sense. Although the resultant line is somewhat short, this is not an unusual feature of Ben Sira's poetry. Moreover, Raymond notes that this reading requires accepting only a few modest proposals about the text, namely that there is a metathesis of a *waw* mater and *lamed*, a longer than usual separation of letters in a word, and an exceptional use of an *aleph* mater at the end of a word. Further, he speculates that it is possible that Medieval readers of this manuscript would have recognized these errors on sight and would have been able to make sense of them while reading.

Tobias Nicklas's ("Die Idee von "Geschichte" im 2. Makkabäerbuch") historiographic study of 2 Maccabees is centered upon the epitomator's understanding of divine and human roles in the unfolding of history. The author focuses on a tension between the theological preface of the epitomator (2 Macc 2:19-32) and the main body of the work (2 Maccabees 3-15) regarding the depiction of God's determinative role in historical events. Whereas the preface presents God as the sovereign over all history who supports the holy ones loyal to him (e.g., Judas Maccabeus et al.) against the wicked Antiochus Epiphanes and the barbarian masses, the main body includes some events and details (e.g., the murder of Onias) that are not marked by the intervention or foreknowledge of God.

Sean A. Adams ("Where's Rome? A Possible Parallel to the Translation of the Septuagint in the *Letter of Aristeas*") compares the depiction of the Torah's translation in the letter of Aristeas with the only other depiction of a state funded translation project, namely that of Mago's treatise, *On Farming*, which was commissioned by the Roman Senate. Though his suggestion that the author of Aristeas incorporated elements of the tale of Mago's translation is highly speculative, the comparison between the two accounts nonetheless illuminates the significance of Aristeas's presentation of the translation of the Torah as a state funded project.

Barbara Schmitz ("King and God: Conceptions of Rule and God in 3 Maccabees") provides an insightful examination of the portrayal of Ptolemy IV Philopator in 3 Maccabees in which she first considers his embodiment of certain aspects of hellenistic Kingship regarded as positive in hellenistic culture and then analyzes the way that these same aspects of kingship are applied to God. In the course of her analysis, Schmitz successfully demonstrates that 3 Maccabees can be fruitfully read as a critique of Hellenistic royal ideology.

A. Jordan SCHMIDT

Jeremy D. Lyon, *Qumran Interpretation of the Genesis Flood* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2015). Pp. xii + 211. ISBN 978-1-4982-2009-5. US \$ 27.00.

This monograph includes an introductory chapter, four chapters devoted to particular Qumran texts on the flood, a short conclusion chapter comparing the findings, and appendices with the four texts in the original and English translation.

A strong feature of *Qumran Interpretation of the Genesis Flood* is its clarity. The lucidity of both its extensive reviews of the secondary literature and its novel literary readings serves as a model for how academic writing should tackle technical matters.

This volume's organizing principle and method is laid out in some detail in the short section on "research methodology" (p. 11):

This research is not just a survey of Qumran manuscripts dealing with (or alluding to) the Flood, nor is the primary purpose to examine only the exegetical and interpretive methods employed in these texts, though the methods will be discussed. Rather, this research, through literary analysis, seeks to understand the different aspects of Flood interpretation in the Qumran literature [the Genesis Apocryphon, Commentary on Genesis A, Admonition Based on the Flood, and Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus], with the goal of developing a more comprehensive Qumran Flood theology.

While the author does succeed in offering clear and strong literary and thematic analysis for each of these four texts, it is less clear that this volume succeeds in accomplishing all of its stated goals.

A striking discrepancy exists between the asserted comprehensiveness implicit in the study's method (and title) and the small number of texts studied. Indeed, one endeavoring to survey Qumran for its treatments and interpretations of the flood must engage far more than four (mostly fragmentary) texts.

Many other texts—both those exclusively found at Qumran and those of broader provenance—relating to the flood are relevant to this analysis as well. In fact, a more comprehensive approach to the flood at Qumran might be much closer to Moshe Bernstein's 1999 survey article, "Noah and the Flood at Qumran" (in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Texts, Reformulated Issues and Technological Innovations*; ed. E. Ulrich and D. Parry; STDJ 30 [Leiden: Brill, 1999], 199–231, reprinted in Moshe J. Bernstein, *Reading and Re-Reading Scripture at Qumran*; 2 vol. [Leiden: Brill, 2013], 291–322), which, as Lyon puts it, offers a "detailed summary of the Qumran Flood material" and "elaborate[s] on the approaches "offered in the Dead Sea Scrolls (p. 6). A quick perusal of that essay would indicate that it considers a wide range of Qumran texts—4Q24, 4Q464, 4Q244, 4Q464 5 ii 2–3, 4Q534, 4Q253–254a, 4Q418, CD 2:16–21, 5Q13 1 6–7, 4Q423, 4Q504, 1Q19—in addition to the four texts studied in this volume.

Furthermore, in order to contextualize the Qumran perspective, it is necessary to consider as well materials with a broader circulation, such as Jubilees or the Testament of Levi. Casting a wider net in that fashion would have allowed, e.g., for a reflection on the possible existence of a Book of Noah on the flood. Although the volume cites Genesis Apocryphon's suggestive words כֹּתֵב מִלִּי נֹחַ, "the book of the words of Noah," several times (pp. 31–34, 46), their potential significance for reconstructing Qumran's understanding(s) of the flood is essentially ignored.

Instead, Lyon focuses on the four most extensive Qumran texts on the flood and mines them for common theological themes in order to determine "what the Qumran community believed concerning the flood" rather than simply "how [the Qumran community] employed the Flood texts" (p. 6). This statement presumes that a literary consideration of these four texts together would yield a unitary theology representative of the Qumran community's beliefs regarding the flood.

Several assumptions are implicit in this methodological gambit, beyond adopting the arbitrarily narrow scope excluding shorter or 'non-Qumran' works.

It assumes, first of all, that there was a singular Qumran community to whom the Dead Sea Scrolls can be attributed, a claim disputed by John Collins in his 2009 *Beyond the Qumran Community*. Furthermore, the book has to work hard to assert that three of these four texts are relevant for reconstructing the community's views despite not being obviously "sectarian" (pp. 11–12, 21–22, 97–99, 123–125). Finally, it assumes that there is a singular "Qumran Flood theology" (pp. 9, 11, 12, 149) to be reconstructed, rather than a range of approaches held by various members of the sect. In the enterprise of historical scholarship (rather than constructive theology), the conjecture that discrete texts point to a singular theology must be argued for rather than baldly asserted.

Additional challenges emerge upon considering this work's comparative project. The book offers no set methodology per se, beyond that of a theological close reading; the ensuing analysis then studies the different works in distinct ways. Genesis Apocryphon is primarily studied by considering *leitmotifs*; the other texts studied are read more closely, line by line (possibly due to their relative brevity). While most sections ignore other relevant ancient Jewish content, the chapter on the Commentary on Genesis does take a broader view, leading to intricate conclusions like the impressive chart on p. 90.

Beyond the lack of a unified method, the book doesn't quite deliver on its promise of synthesizing these four texts, as can be ascertained by considering the concluding chapter. Of the ten themes explored in this short chapter (pp. 141–49), most appear in only one of the texts studied; when they appear more than once, they are often utilized in divergent fashions. For example, the "Landing of the Ark" theme (p. 145) relates to its landing on Ararat in 4Q252, its landing on Lubar in 4Q244, and the broader use of this theme in 1QapGen. It is much easier to see the data as pointing to a range of motifs rather than to a comprehensive theology. To the extent that there is one overriding theology, it is constructed rather than recovered.

While the volume does not deliver on its stated promise of providing a unified Qumran flood theology, it does still have merit in two realms. First, it manages to organize the substantial literature on the flood regarding these four Qumran texts with a fair degree of detail, yielding a single, textually oriented survey of the most extensive Qumran texts on the deluge.

Second, the book offers several interesting and apparently novel literary readings. See, for example, Lyon's reading of 4Q422 ii 6–8's rendering of the purpose of the flood as one of purification by baptism (pp. 138–39), a creative angle.

It is worth considering what this study would have looked like if it were not forced into book format. Its literary readings could have stood on their own, offering focused studies on particular themes or readings, which would have allowed for more of the author's novel approach to shine through. There also would have been less need to rehash secondary material on these texts. In any event, it should not have been necessary to summarize aspects of the essay "Noah and the Flood at Qumran" in five different places in the book (pp. 5–6, 10; 24–25; 74; 101; 125–26), nor to repeatedly discuss the physical discovery of each scroll.

Despite the volume's limitations in synthesizing its findings and presenting claims regarding Qumran overall, it does hold significant utility as a reference text. In his pleasant expository style, the author clearly lays out prior studies he has built upon, and integrates his novel readings and structural interpretations nicely into the history of scholarship. To that end, one wishing to learn about the major treatments of the Genesis flood among texts found at Qumran would do well to start with this book and pursue further materials cited in its copious bibliography.

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